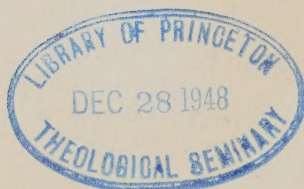


ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN



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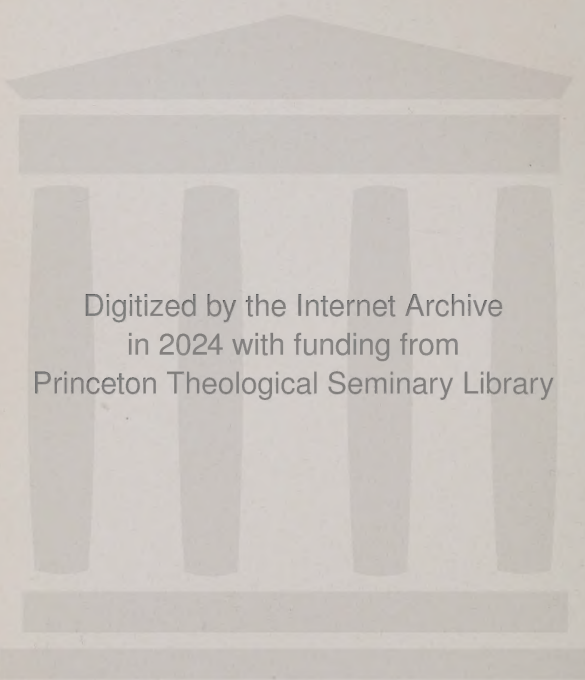
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MONSIGNOR SATOLLI
Apostolic Delegate

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN
Dedication of St. Joseph's
Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y.
August 12, 1896

BISHOP McQUAID



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**THE GATES OF HELL SHALL
NOT PREVAIL**

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN

SAINT OR SINNER?

Nihil Obstat

James C. McAniff, S.T.D.,
Censor Deputatus.

Imprimatur

James E. Kearney, D.D.,
Bishop of Rochester.

Rochester, New York
October 31, 1945.

LETTERS



OF

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN

TO

BISHOP MCQUAID

AND

ALLIED DOCUMENTS

BY

FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, D. Sc. M. H.

1946

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ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

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BY

THE ART PRINT SHOP

TO
THE FOUR HUNDRED
WHOSE
GENEROSITY
MADE
PUBLICATION POSSIBLE
AFTER
MY RETIREMENT
FROM
THE CHAIR
OF
CHURCH HISTORY
THIS VOLUME
IS
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

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PREFACE

ABOUT

THIS LITTLE BOOK

When this little book was presented to Sheed and Ward for an opinion on its publication, the manuscript was not subdivided by headings. Nevertheless, I thought that the contents, even in that rough form, were significant enough to make a concern in this publishing business like Sheed and Ward realize at once the importance of the little book for the History of the Catholic Church in the United States during the turbulent years of the second half of the Nineteenth Century. However, Miss Mary Perkins informed me, for Sheed and Ward, that "our readers and I feel that, in their present form, the letters are not suitable for publication by us since their background is not familiar to a large number of people to create sufficient demand." Meanwhile, Miss Perkins herself confessed that she was "especially interested in the reference to Monsignor Doane as he was my father's uncle"; she also regretted that her "mother was not near by so that I could have shown them to her as Monsignor was the only Catholic member of my father's family."

Much of the evidence in this little book also entered into a biography of Archbishop Corrigan that I was asked to write for the *Dictionary of American*

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN

Biography. It was accepted and the honorarium for it was paid. To my amazement I received a letter some time later, expressing regret that the biography could not be published in the *Dictionary of American Biography* although it was frankly acknowledged at the same time that no other biography of Archbishop Corrigan could be expected of me. However, when biographies of Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid appeared in the columns of the *American Dictionary of Biography* from the pen of Professor Richard J. Purcell of the Catholic University in Washington, D. C., written contrary to the known historical evidence, it became manifest that the old conspiracy in favor of Archbishop Ireland against Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid was still active even though out of date at this late day. This was confirmed all the more in the publication of *The School Controversy (1891-1893)* by Daniel F. Reilly of the Order of Preachers in 1943, being a dissertation "conducted under the direction of Richard J. Purcell, Ph. D., LL.B., Major Professor." For this dissertation has been exposed by historical criticism not as objective history, but a partisan tract on the Archbishop Ireland side of the old controversy. This does not mean that we are not grateful for the documents conveniently put at our disposal in this book.

Much more important than the revival of this dead controversy about the Faribault-Stillwater School Plan, that actually never existed except on paper, has been a revival of Georgism in the United States of America, England, Australia, and New Zealand. When Father James M. Gillis published the *Revival of Georgism* by Father Joseph Fichter, S.J., in the February number of the *Catholic World*, 1941, I offered to write an article for this Paulist

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review on *Rome's Condemnation of Georgism*. After Father Gillis gave "the matter careful thought . . . for reasons that it would take too long to explain in a letter," he came "to the conclusion that it would be inadvisable to do so." Unchecked, Father Fichter campaigned for a further revival of Georgism by another article in *America*, November 1, 1941, on a proposed change of *Land Tenure*. Instead of offering to write the article this time, I wrote it, deciding that it was high time to end the propaganda for the revival of Georgism with its denial of the right to private property in land and the assertion of the State's right to charge rent for the land in a so-called Single Tax.

The arrival of this article on *Rome's Condemnation of Georgism* in the editorial office of *America* "created a bit of excitement," but it was decided there that "such an article as this could not well be published in *America*." Father Francis Talbot, S.J., advertng to the connection of the McGlynn case with Henry George and Georgism, alleged that *America* had "a rule not to run anything . . . that would rouse the fires of the old controversy about McGlynn" inasmuch as "feelings are still bitter and such a controversy, even at this date, would not be helpful to anyone." The fact of the matter is that the truth would free such as these from their embittered feelings. As my article frankly printed Rome's condemnation of Georgism as it was quoted by the Metropolitan, Archbishop Corrigan, to his suffragan, Bishop McQuaid, one of the Editors of *America* discussed this question of the obligation to secrecy "with a recognized theologian here in New York" who "was of the belief that we would incur ecclesiastical wrath by divulging the contents of such a document." Father Talbot therefore judged

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that "it is a secret document even now." If Father Talbot and his New York theologian knew more of the tricks that were used to dupe Rome into making partisan decisions not only in the George-McGlynn case, but also in the Knights of Labor and in the Faribault-Stillwater cases, the belief of both would appear only with a foundation in plausible fiction, but without a foundation in real truth. The Holy Office imposed secrecy in its condemnation of Georgism for fear that its action, if published, would cause an outbreak of persecution against the Catholic Church in the United States like the *Kulturkampf* in Germany. This calumny against the non-Catholic people of the United States was adroitly insinuated to authorities in Rome by leading opponents of Rome's condemnation of Henry George and Father McGlynn. The imposition of secrecy way back in 1889 by the Holy Office in this matter therefore rested upon what was not true. Under the circumstances, more than a half century later, a historian is entitled also in this matter to follow the self-evident rules of historical writing cited from Cicero by Leo XIII in his great letter on Historical Studies to Cardinals de Luca, Pitra, and Hergenroether, August 18, 1883: "that the first law of history is not to dare to say what is false; next, not to fear to state what is true; nor to let arise any suspicion of partiality or animosity in writing." Nevertheless, the article on *Rome's Condemnation of Georgism* found no better luck for publication in the pages of the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, whose "readers . . . decided that it does not quite fit in with the *Review* articles." They were wise enough not to give any reasons for this policy of silencing much needed information on the Catholic doctrine of the right to private property in land.

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This conspiracy of silence on the Atlantic Seaboard, where for instance Father Talbot feared that "while journalistically publication of the letter would be a big scoop, prudentially and ecclesiastically it might lead to severe condemnation," forced me to look to another important center of Catholic publication, to St. Louis in the Mississippi Valley. Here December 17, 1941, was avowedly turned into a festival day for the Director of the Central Bureau, Mr. F. P. Kenkel, when he received my article about which he wrote me as soon as he had mentally devoured it: "Rarely have I received a manuscript that was as welcome as yours on the Condemnation of Georgism" with its "fascinating account of what transpired behind the scenes of the McGlynn case." When *Rome's Condemnation of Georgism* was published by Mr. Kenkel in the *Social Justice Review*, February, 1942, without any dire consequences, ecclesiastical or otherwise, he sent a few copies to the Reverend Lewis Watt, S.J., of the Catholic Social Guild and School, Oxford, England, where the latter felt the urgent need of all the information he could obtain "to ward off the misleading statements of the land reformers in England," particularly "the Henry George zealots" whom this Jesuit Father found to be "very energetic over here." Their propaganda to Catholics was directed by a Catholic Labor member of Parliament, Richard Stokes, who announced his intention of distributing reprints of Father Fichter's article made by the Henry George Foundation, New York City, from the *Catholic World*. This Paulist Review gave further proof of waywardness by publishing in its December issue, 1942, *A Vindication of Henry George* that was written by Justice P. J. O'Regan in the Supreme Court Buildings at Auckland, New Zealand, who refused

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN

“to believe that there will not arise bishops and clergy who will proclaim the truth as it was proclaimed by men like Bishop Nulty and Father McGlynn.” Justice O’Regan is ignorant of Dr. McGlynn’s bad record despite his restoration to his priestly status and of Bishop Nulty’s repudiation of the dishonest use made of an extract from an essay which he had “published on the Land Question before the passage of the Land Act,” but which was reprinted in a placard as if it had “been taken from a letter published quite recently,” and to which a facsimile of the Bishop’s signature had been attached “without my knowledge as if I had sanctioned and approved of a course of action which I entirely disclaim.”

The McGlynn case also proved puzzling to others. His restoration to the exercise of the priesthood by the first resident Apostolic Delegate to the Catholic Church in the United States, over the head of Archbishop Corrigan could not be reconciled by Mr. Robert C. Ludlow, self-declared “partisan of Dr. McGlynn in the Corrigan-McGlynn dispute,” with the condemnation of Georgism in Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum* of 1891 which he read in the record of Theodore Maynard’s *Story of American Catholicism*. Unwilling to admit a condemnation of Georgism in this famous encyclical on the Condition of Labor “by positing a contradiction between Leo’s . . . ruling and the Satolli ruling,” he criticized, in a letter published in the *Commonweal*, January 30, 1942, what he described as “Leo XIII’s *supposed* condemnation of Georgist land philosophy as quoted by Maynard.” The following February 20 Theodore Maynard published, also in the *Commonweal*, his reply to Mr. Ludlow’s criticism. In this reply Mr. Maynard referred incidentally to my paper on

PREFACE

Rome's Condemnation of Georgism, but failed to understand "why Dr. Zwierlein concludes his article in *Social Justice Review* with the dark saying that the 'so-called exoneration of Dr. McGlynn appears as a greater mystery of iniquity than ever.'" The confused thinking manifested in this correspondence needed clarification and so I commented on both letters, adding considerable documentary evidence, in an article on *Henry George and American Catholicism* which I naturally sent to the *Commonweal* for publication. Its editorial offices took a long time to make up their minds about this "thorough and interesting treatment of the Henry George controversy," not being able to "decide quickly" what to do about the publication of this "able and valuable" contribution. They side-stepped its publication by coming to the conclusion at last "that the matter is too large a question of history to warrant such extended treatment in" the columns of *Commonweal* inasmuch as the material could surely be used "in a more suitable vehicle." Mr. Harry Lorin Binsse, writing from its editorial offices April 7, 1942, then expressed his hope that the substance of the interesting article would appear elsewhere. Mr. F. P. Kenkel was delighted to receive the article I had first offered the *Commonweal*. For he wrote April 10, 1942 that he "had in mind to ask for the favor of a second article on Henry Georgism, intended as a reply to the two letters published in the *Commonweal*. But I felt I had no right thus to impose upon you." Although the May issue of *Social Justice Review* had been all laid out, Mr. Kenkel did not hesitate to upset all that and publish the first part of the manuscript in the May number and the second part in the June issue, because he judged it "a valuable service to the Catholic cause," clarifying "a prob-

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN

lem which has been lost in a misty haze of opinions and allegations," that constitute "a danger and may easily lead to grave errors and even heresies."

That is precisely what was the trouble in the eulogies of Henry George and Father McGlynn, his ardent disciple, by Father Joseph Fichter, S.J., and Justice P. J. O'Regan that appeared in the columns of the *Catholic World*. Its Catholic readers were in danger of being misled into believing that there was nothing reprehensible in the land philosophy of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* despite its denial of the right of private property in land for which the State was to charge the rent in the form of the Single Tax according to his ideology, reducing the owners to mere tenant possessors. Father McGlynn maintained this uncatholic land philosophy of Henry George till the day of his death although the land philosophy of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* needs radical amendment to make it conform to Catholic teaching on the natural right to private property in land as it was decreed by the Holy Office in Rome February 6, 1889, maintained by Leo XIII's encyclical May 15, 1891, commemorated in the Golden Jubilee of this encyclical by Pius XII, and strongly emphasized by the same Pope in his radio address, September 1, 1944, for building a new and better world on the ruins to which the recent war for survival reduced the Old World for martyred peoples.

A year before this radio address a favorable opportunity had presented itself for an interview with Father Gillis who was then induced to consent to an article of two thousand words for the Paulist review on the Catholic doctrine of the natural right to private property in land provided Father Fichter,

PREFACE

S.J., was allowed to have the last word in the matter. In view of an impending operation which Father Gillis found advisable for himself to undergo, I agreed to postpone this contribution until he had recovered. Other interests then intervened so that the project was neglected for the time being. However, when Pope Pius XII made his strong appeal September 1, 1944, to every true follower of Christ, outside as well inside the Church to co-operate in raising up the proletariat by organic reform, not by revolution, on the indisputable foundation of the right to private property which however was not "unlimited . . . without subordination to the common good," the time had come to write the article for the instruction of the Catholic readers of the *Catholic World* about the Catholic Doctrine of the natural right of man to private property also in land, particularly in the interest of "the small and medium owners," whose just claims against the tyranny of the powerful Pius XII especially championed inasmuch as the Church "does not intend to protect the rich and the plutocrat against the poor" and inasmuch as it is the duty of the State, whenever "distribution of property is an obstacle to "the common good, to intervene, regulate its activities, or issue a decree of expropriation with suitable indemnity."

After my article reached Father Gillis, he informed me October 24, 1944, that he then had "on hand no less than three articles more or less treating the subject we discussed a year ago." For he had already received one from Father Fichter, S.J., and another from Judge O'Regan of Wellington, New Zealand. He felt that neither of these gentlemen would be satisfied if he were to publish my article and not theirs, and he was "reluctant to sur-

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN

render the pages of the *Catholic World* to controversial purposes" particularly in this matter of pro and anti-George, in which he had learned by experience "that the controversialists . . . are an especially insatiable brood." He therefore decided to decline publishing all three, hoping "to escape the Henry George controversy from now on." While he asked me kindly to pardon what would seem to me "a change of heart and perhaps a retraction of a promise," the fact remained that the Catholic readers of the *Catholic World* were twice inoculated with the uncatholic land philosophy of Henry George and Father McGlynn and that these same Catholic readers of the *Catholic World* were deprived of getting the antidote of Catholic land teaching even once. The consequence of all this was that I turned my article on *Private Property in Land* again over to Mr. F. P. Kenkel, to whom its receipt again made a red letter day on the calendar, being "extremely timely." For he had been disappointed with many people who "are trying to write about economics and social subjects in Catholic papers, etc.," but lack "clarity and fundamental principles." He was therefore "extremely grateful . . . for this contribution" which, "while it appears to deal largely with Henry George and his theory, at the same time clearly demonstrates the nature of private property and its importance for the family and society." The article was published by Mr. Kenkel December, 1944, in *Social Justice Review*. If Aaron I. Abell had known the three articles on Georgism published in this St. Louis Review, or the chapter on Dr. McGlynn in the third volume of the *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, he would have been better qualified to write on *The Reception of Leo XIII's Labor Encyclical in America, 1891-1919*, which was pub-

PREFACE

lished in *The Review of Politics*, October, 1945, at Notre Dame, Indiana. It would have been impossible to write either the articles published in *Social Justice Review* or the chapter in Bishop McQuaid's Life and Letters, if a thorough checkup on the source material in the archives, particularly of the Archdiocese of New York and of the Diocese of Rochester, had not enabled the author to avoid the pitfalls in the mass of misleading propaganda for Henry George and Dr. McGlynn.

When I finished the manuscript of the three volumes on Bishop McQuaid, fearful scrupulosity locally forced me to obtain an *imprimatur* from the Master of the Sacred Palace in the Vatican. That condition of affairs has long ceased to exist here in Rochester and I take the occasion to thank Dr. James C. McAniff for his careful reading of the manuscript of this little book which made him feel warranted to give the *Nihil Obstat*. Thus Bishop Kearney was canonically enabled to grant the *Imprimatur* for which I am very grateful. Financially the generosity of Friends and Alumni of St. Bernard's Seminary enables me to publish as soon as physically possible not only the *Talks to Men and Women on the World of Today*, for which they subscribed, but also this little volume of the *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid and Allied Documents* that will show the Archbishop to be by far much more a Saint than a Sinner despite a persistent campaign of calumny to the contrary. An alphabetical list of subscribers, to whom this booklet is gratefully dedicated, is printed at the end of this work.

I

PRESIDENT OF SETON HALL

1868-1873

FACULTY AND STUDENTS

The Reverend Michael Augustine Corrigan, D.D., Bishop McQuaid's successor in the presidency of Seton Hall College, kept in close touch with his predecessor even after the latter became Bishop of Rochester. Writing August 20, 1868, he informed Bishop McQuaid of faculty matters in Seton Hall. While he objected to Mr. Maguire of Maynooth solely because "it would be unfortunate to commence school with boyish prejudices of nationality, etc., against us," he thought that Mr. Maguire might "be the man in the right place" in a preparatory seminary at Rochester if Bishop McQuaid should feel "able to commence at once" and if Mr. Maguire's excellent letter of commendation from Dr. Russell was really worth its face value. Dr. Corrigan took occasion at the same time to thank Bishop McQuaid for Mr. Barry's application. The Bishop also sent six of his own ecclesiastical students to Seton Hall, which opened the Fall term with eighty-eight students, as Dr. Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid September 18, 1868, sending him a full list of names. He found the teachers "all willing to do their duty" and hoped for a good year, confessing:

I am now beginning to comprehend your all-absorbing interest in the College, which formerly I used to wonder at.

FINANCES

The finances of the college, however, proved troublesome to Dr. Corrigan. He was just "dunned"

by a Mr. Halsey to whom he gave a note for \$2,067.10, "due Jan. 18th, 1869 (with power of renewal)" and the following week he had "to meet various notes amounting in the aggregate to \$9,942." On this account he arranged to obtain the use of \$5,000 for a short time, which would help him through the difficulty. He apologized for writing Bishop McQuaid these details, declaring: "You see I speak to you about these matters as though you were still here." In fact, there were accounts hanging over from Bishop McQuaid's administration as President of Seton Hall, which made it necessary for his successor again to consult him October 11, 1868, when he informed his predecessor that the number of boys in the College had risen to ninety-six. At the same time he also wrote Bishop McQuaid:

Much to my confusion, Bishop Bayley some time ago appointed your humble servant your successor as Vicar General. Of course it is but a title, but if I had my choice, a thousand times rather would I be in my old place of last year, with peace and quiet and retirement.
Fiat voluntas Dei.

ADDRESSES

Toward the end of the year Bishop McQuaid wrote Dr. Corrigan in regard to a lecture in Rochester by Colonel Meline. As this man's health was very precarious and his voice poor, Dr. Corrigan did not think that he would please a large audience, adding, while writing Bishop McQuaid Christmas Eve, that "it would not be worth while, therefore, to ask Mr. Meline to lecture." Significantly, however, he informed Bishop McQuaid:

Fred. Coudert will lecture before the Young Men in Newark in January. Subject "St. Irenaeus and his

times." Matter suggested by "*Les Césars of Champigny*,—and *Allies' Formation of Christendom*. I have no doubt it will be an able lecture.

Whether Bishop McQuaid took advantage of this, is not stated. The Bishop himself was a very effective speaker. Mindful of this, Dr. Corrigan invited him to address the graduates on the occasion of their receiving their diplomas,

as your old friends would like to hear you again, and as Bishop Bayley has signified his intention of making no more speeches except "on grand occasions",—(which an ordinary commencement is not).

To Dr. Corrigan the Exhibition at the College, June 23, 1869, meant the end of his first year's work as President of Seton Hall. Looking back over it, he humbly wrote Bishop McQuaid June 1, 1869:

I feel that this year's experience has been of much service. It has been very varied and, to an untried hand like myself, it seems almost as bad as it could be. But these things must all come to stir us all and like thunder showers purify the air.

SICKNESS

The new year, Dr. Corrigan's second as President of Seton Hall College, must have begun more satisfactorily. To his acceptance of Bishop McQuaid's invitation to the Dedication of the Cathedral at Rochester, he added a note to that effect, besides writing October 27, 1870: "We have a remarkably quiet year at the College:—a small number of students, but good studies and excellent discipline." Dr. Corrigan had planned to go to Rochester with Father Hickey, but he feared that this priest might "not be able to make the journey, as he is confined

to his bed by fever." He then informed Bishop McQuaid:

There has been much fever this season even in South Orange and its immediate neighborhood,—fever of a remittent character and with typhoidal and congestive tendency.

Nevertheless, Seton Hall and Seminary proved to be fortunate in the health of its students. For Dr. Corrigan was able to write Bishop McQuaid May 31, 1872, when he informed him of the death of Charles Ostermoor, that the latter was "the first student we have lost, by death, since 1868. He died at home, of pneumonia."

The very next year the young President of Seton Hall was also made Bishop of Newark to fill the vacancy created by the transfer of Bishop Bayley as Archbishop of Baltimore. On this occasion Father S. J. Ahern wrote Bishop McQuaid March 1, 1873, most enthusiastically:

We are all jubilant about our Bishop. We don't care now for the N. Y. inland seas, white fish, roast chicken, or fishing.

II

BISHOP OF NEWARK

1873-1880

CONSECRATION

The Bulls for Newark came March 15, 1873. The next day Bishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid:

Acting under advice,—and fearing to be involved in still greater risks and difficulties by refusing, I have bowed my head to the great burden, and by a good in-

tention and the desire of doing right hope to make up for many shortcomings and my unworthiness of so great a trust.

Bishop Corrigan then asked Bishop McQuaid to be Assistant Prelate with Bishop McCloskey at his consecration which he thought would most probably take place on the Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph (May 4th). The Archbishop of New York consented to perform the ceremony and Bishop Corrigan hoped that Archbishop Bayley would give the Homily. Meanwhile he expected Bishop McQuaid to have the kindness to let him know at earliest convenience what he needed in the way of outfit, observing at the same time:

The clergy have very generously sent to Paris for vestments, Mitre, Crosier, Chapelle, &c. Besides these articles there will be needed, I presume, cassocks, gloves, slippers, and something for Confirmations, &c. Is there any book that gives information on these practical points?

Archbishop McCloskey of New York advised Bishop Corrigan to keep the Presidency of the College while he suggested in various ways "the practicability of diminishing the amount of work by handing over the details of administration to others." Bishop Corrigan then informed Bishop McQuaid that he would ask his advice later about these and other points, as "at present everything is unsettled and uncertain." He was pleased however to be able to add: "We are all pretty well at the College, and the year thus far is one of remarkably smooth sailing." Finally he begged a place in Bishop McQuaid's prayer "that I may have the strength to do the will of God."

As the time of the consecration approached, Arch-

bishop Bayley was too indisposed to preach, and so Bishop McQuaid was invited to do so. Bishop Corrigan thanked him most sincerely April 16, 1873, for his acceptance of the office of Preacher. The invitations had been sent out the previous day. Bishop Williams and Father Curran of New York had already written that they would come. The faculties had arrived from Rome the week before. Although Bishop Corrigan found a great consolation and a great spur to hard work in the fact that "the clergy of the Diocese, young and old, are exceedingly kind to me and well disposed," he confessed to Bishop McQuaid: "Only I feel the more keenly my shortcomings and the variety of qualities needed for the office that is to be imposed on me."

Meanwhile Bishop Corrigan was moving into the new rooms at the College and was kept busy filing away or destroying old documents, &c. In Newark he also found "abundance of work for some months to come. In the Bishop's room, the papers and letters, &c., lie around just as if he was absent for a week." However, Archbishop Bayley's health was "very much improved, and with good health his old cheerfulness has returned." Towards the end of the year (1873), when the Archbishop paid Newark a week's visit, Bishop Corrigan found him "in excellent Spirits,—like a boy escaped from School, and he wandered through the old haunts with evident delight." Bishop Corrigan was unable to give such a good report to Bishop McQuaid of poor Father Ahern who seemed far gone in consumption. The sick man had written Bishop Corrigan:

I ask your prayers; I shall leave the world full of faith and hope in the Holy Mother Church. We may stray off, but the old affections find the old fold. I am now in tears, & so must close.

Bishop Corrigan then wrote Bishop McQuaid: "Poor Ahern! May God give him grace to die well!"

HARD TIMES

Other cares also troubled the young Bishop of Newark. For he wrote his old friend, Bishop McQuaid, December 18, 1873:

Orange particularly makes many demands on time and care. The church is advertised for sale;—the sale to take place Feb. 10th. Judgment has been obtained also against the personal property of church, Pastor's House, School, etc.; and the vestments and all the furniture were to have been sold this week, but a stay of proceedings has been obtained until the real estate shall have been disposed of.

Our people are walking the streets idle. It is a dismal sight.—I have been informed privately that the Barreлас, La Montagnes and several good families of New York have suffered terribly by the panic.

Bishop Corrigan nevertheless had reason to thank God that "we are all well at the College." The boys were to leave on the 23rd, having the Christmas Concert in advance.

SCHOOL QUESTIONS

Not only the College, but other Catholic schools of lower grade also preoccupied the minds of such leading educators as Bishop McQuaid and Bishop Corrigan. Thus the latter wrote the former from Seton Hall, September 16, 1875:

I read in the *Pilot* this morning your very just remarks on the School Question. I appreciate particularly what you say about the need of educating *all* our children, not merely the girls and small boys, but also boys of larger growth.

I have been thinking about this matter for some time,

and have requested Father Messmer to obtain information concerning the Teachers' Institute at Milwaukee. It is impossible to obtain a sufficient Number of Brothers to teach our Parochial Schools. Vocations are few and the young prefer aspiring to the Priesthood. But if we could hold inducements to men of talent and integrity to embrace teaching as a career in life, much might be accomplished.

It occurred to me on reading your letter this morning to write and ask your opinion on this matter.

Could not the Bishops of the Province unite in establishing a fund for the training of Catholic teachers? If only you, Bishop Ryan and myself entered into the project, it seems to me that something might be done.

In this Diocese, with, say, over ten thousand boys to be educated as Catholics, we have about ten reliable male teachers.

As you say, our efforts are paralyzed and almost useless, unless we make provision for the proper training of the entire Catholic population.

Our pupils are coming in slowly. I myself am exceedingly busy; start in a few moments for Monmouth Co.

The Parochial Schools have opened well. The Clergy are becoming more and more alive to the necessity of making efforts in the right direction.

The papers, *nominatim* the *Herald*, are finding fault with me for interfering in the late elections, and bringing up the vexed school question, about which I said not one word.

The new law of taxing church property would throw on us a new burden of about a quarter of million dollars, annually,—just so much more than the Diocese could bear.

All well at the College.—We will have a Fair next week to pay off balance of debt on School House (\$1,600).

Nothing came of the project to organize a Catholic Male Teachers' Normal School within the Province of New York. However, boys of larger growth were gradually taken into the Parochial Schools taught by Sisters until finally the male teacher for

the largest boys in these schools disappeared from them. Late in the Fall of 1875 Bishop McQuaid and Bishop Corrigan had a good opportunity to discuss the problems touched upon by the previous letter during the former's visit in Newark.

The day after he left, the heating system at Seton Hall College was crippled. The boiler gave out, due to an oversight on the part of the engineer during the winter, as the condition of the pipes and the opinion of experts led Bishop Corrigan to conclude. Fortunately the weather was mild and ten stoves helped much to remedy the evil by heating the study-hall, dining room, and several class rooms, so that French was the only class postponed until the return of steam heat in a few days. It cost \$1800 to repair the boiler. To be better protected against accidents in the future, Bishop Corrigan then had two boilers put in. While these necessary expenses were incurred at Seton Hall, the finances of the American College in Rome were also claiming the attention of visiting prelates in New York, as Bishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid December 7, 1875:

Archbishop Bayley remained till Saturday morning. Abp. Wood & Bp. Quinlan dined with us in New York. They made arrangements in New York to prevent the American College running into debt and coming to grief.

At the same time Bishop Corrigan returned to Bishop McQuaid the copy of his Diocesan Statutes with corrections of typographical errors in pencil. He explained further that he had marked several of the decrees on the receipt of the Statutes for his own guidance. He then asked Bishop McQuaid for a bound copy of these statutes for preservation. Amongst the most important were those dealing with Catholic Free Schools in the Diocese of Roch-

ester. Bishop McQuaid's reputation as the exponent of the Catholic School Question then moved the Free Thinkers of Boston to invite him to address their society on this subject. When this had been done, Bishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid February 15, 1876:

I have heard but one opinion of your admirable address at Boston, that it is *excellent* in every respect,—surpassing even all previous efforts on the same great question.

We will look with much interest to the publication of the entire Lecture. Meanwhile the Catholic papers will eagerly publish the extracts from the *Tribune*.

For his work of surveying the past Bishop McQuaid had the co-operation of Bishop Corrigan who sent him a few days before this letter a copy of the *Catholic Directory* for 1840 although there was no other copy in the College Library, another having been incorporated in the set taken to Baltimore by Archbishop Bayley. He therefore commended the copy sent to Bishop McQuaid's special care. Bishop McQuaid had not yet acquired then his great set of Catholic Directories, so fundamental for the history of the Catholic Church in the United States despite mistakes. In Seton Hall College Bishop Corrigan "had some trouble on account of the incompetency of one of the Prefects;—but the storm is now over and the atmosphere purified. We are all well, thank God."

SICK PRELATES

The climate at S. Orange was so good that Cardinal McCloskey was advised by his physician to go there to get rid of his malarial fever. This Prelate's state of health was such that Bishop McNeirney of

Albany said in a visit to New York, April 17, 1876, that the subject of the coadjutorship would come up at the next meeting of the Bishops of the Province. Bishop Corrigan was only too happy to place the College at the disposal of the Cardinal who was to come there April 19, 1876. The following week Bishop McQuaid was also to visit New Jersey. Bishop Corrigan asked him to make his stay of decent length and to let him know the place and time of his arrival, suggesting that they might drive easily from the College Tuesday morning to Elizabeth in case he came directly to S. Orange Monday night. Cardinal McCloskey did not regain his health then in S. Orange. For Bishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid June 16, 1876:

The Cardinal has been at Mount St. Vincent for ten days, but is now in Madison Ave., again and intends to visit the Provincial Seminary soon. I saw him on Pentecost. He was still quite feeble, I understand that he is stronger now and that the prospects of his restoration to health are quite encouraging. He is still unable to say Mass. I believe I mentioned to you already that he is indisposed to attend to any business of importance until the fall.

Apparently Bishop McQuaid also wished to contribute towards the restoration of the Cardinal's health on his farm at Hemlock Lake. Only this makes intelligible the postscript Bishop Corrigan added to his letter:

Unless the Cardinal goes to Hemlock Lake from Troy, he will probably spend the summer at Newport and Long Branch in some private villa,—at Newport with Mrs. Andrews in Mr. Caldwell's House.

The rest of Bishop Corrigan's letter was concerned with Seton Hall affairs. He particularly regretted

that trouble with Father Early kept Bishop McQuaid from attending the Commencement at Seton Hall College, where a student from Rochester, Mr. Hone, passed his examinations very successfully, coming very near winning two gold medals. Two more trustees were needed for the College. While Bishop Corrigan proposed to offer the name of Father Salt to fill one vacancy, he asked Bishop McQuaid to suggest the name of a good layman for the other.

In addition to the care of the College and Seminary and to the administration of the Diocese of Newark another burden was placed upon Bishop Corrigan the following year by the sickness of Archbishop Bayley who sailed from Europe on the Russia with Bishop McNeirney, August 11, bound for the College, as Dr. Van Buren had recommended him to remain in S. Orange until the middle of November and then go South. Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia, whom Bishop Corrigan saw the previous Saturday, described Archbishop Bayley to be almost childish. As Bishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid August 14, 1877, Archbishop Bayley had "some disease of the kidneys which is considered incurable. He is exceedingly nervous, and, I believe, requires constant company and attention." Bishop Corrigan had expected to visit Bishop McQuaid towards the end of the following week, but he feared that the condition of their friend might make it necessary to postpone this. In conclusion Bishop Corrigan gave Bishop McQuaid a bit of news:

The Diocese of Alleghany is suppressed, and the Bp. is to be provided for elsewhere, or rather in some other way. He bears his Cross nobly.

When Bishop Corrigan showed Dr. Van Buren's letter about Archbishop Bayley to Dr. O'Gorman, the

latter declared "that the symptoms mentioned are those of the second and advanced stage of Bright's Disease." As Bishop Corrigan had to go on Retreat the following week, Father Doane was to remain and entertain Archbishop Bayley in Newark until Friday of that week when the Archbishop was expected to go to the College. Informing Bishop McQuaid of these circumstances August 18, 1877, he added:

If I can leave him a little later without offence, I will very gladly go to Rochester; if I cannot, I trust you will make your visit to Newark all the sooner.

Diocesan troubles were also worrying Bishop Corrigan at this time. Of these he also wrote Bishop McQuaid in this letter:

On account of the hard times, we will be obliged to reduce the number of Ecclesiastical Students very considerably in order to keep out of debt. I worry a great deal about the College. It is to be feared that the year will be a disastrous one, with a large harvest of debt.

The Vineland (?) excitement is subsiding. The Cemetery was never blessed, to begin with. Landis is stirring up the waters to foment trouble. The grave occupied by the Italian was promised already to a widow whose husband, on his deathbed, gave four or five hundred dollars to the Priest for the Church; hence he is anxious to gratify her wishes. All further trouble must be between the widows whose husbands lie side by side, —the Italian occupying the grave promised to Mrs. Gregory.

Meanwhile Bishop McQuaid had presented to Rome a case connected with All Souls' Day which he thought an abuse that ought to be curbed by Roman authority. It had to do with the money offered on All Souls' Day for a share in the Mass in behalf of Departed Souls. Bishop Corrigan in-

closed Rome's rescript in the matter in his letter of August 18, 1877, with the remark: "I think the Cardinal made some allusion to the custom referred to during his recent visit to S. Orange, but I do not remember the details." Another piece of news mentioned in the same letter had to do with Rome's attitude towards an Irish Society that later claimed considerable attention on the part of both Bishops McQuaid and Corrigan:

The Archbishop of Philadelphia was consulted recently about the A. O. H., and succeeded in causing the Cardinals to withhold from publication an answer which they had prepared for promulgation, tolerating the Ancient Order. At the same time, out of deference to the variety of opinions entertained by the Bishops concerning the A. O. H., he advised that no formal *condemnation* should be made, but that the matter should rest in abeyance, awaiting further investigations. The Archbishop's advice was accepted.

Archbishop Bayley now proved to be a great care to his friends in Newark. However, they did all they could for him. Bishop Corrigan frankly wrote Bishop McQuaid August 27, 1877, just how matters stood with the distinguished patient:

I am trying to keep the Archbishop quiet for a few minutes until I write a few lines, but he is constantly interrupting, although the next minute he bids me to go on with my work.

The Doctor all along has been more apprehensive of his mind giving way than of his physical condition, and we are all exceedingly anxious on that point. He cannot bear to let Father Doane or myself out of his sight for a moment, when he is awake, and poor F. Doane who has had most of the night watching, especially during the Retreat, is well worn, and I am afraid he may become unwell again and lose the fruit of his long rest in the country.

If the present nervousness continue, Dr. O'Gorman

says the Abp's mind will most certainly give way. In his present condition, he is very exacting.

He refuses to see anyone, e. g. his niece, & Dr. Seton.

I am afraid to encourage you to come on; the visit would be so unsatisfactory in his present mental weakness. Pray that God in His Mercy may spare us this new affliction, and that our dear friend may have the use of his senses.

I am very tired,—having been up nearly all the night, and constantly occupied in the sick room since the close of the Retreat. I will write again in a couple of days.

P. S. The Abp. looks well enough; is now chatting pleasantly.—F. Doane thinks that, unless relief comes, he cannot last many days.

The patient lasted longer than Father Doane thought. For Bishop Corrigan had occasion to write Bishop McQuaid September 15, 1877:

The Abp. of Baltimore remains very much in the same condition, 'fretting himself to death'; the hot weather of the last two days was very trying to his nerves. Bp. Moore arrived yesterday & has just left. He came to settle business matters concerning the property left by Bishop Verot to Abp. Bayley.

This was of course property of the Church left by a Suffragan Bishop to his Metropolitan for the Church.

At the funeral of Father Mooney, Bishop Corrigan met Bishop McNeirney, from whom he received news that he communicated the same day to Bishop McQuaid, writing:

The Albany case is drawing to a close. The titular Bishop has been ordered to resign and is expected to do so this week. The news is already beginning to spread. One of the Paulists intimated it to me this morning, and F. Doane informed me tonight that Bp. McNeirny told it to him.

As far as I understand the case, Bp. Conroy is to re-

sign the title and ask for a new one *in partibus infidelium*. It will rest with Propaganda, after receiving his resignation, to accede or not to his request; and in all events, there will always be a lien on him to have all the questions of property settled before the new title and allowance for his support are determined. I am led to believe that Bp. Conroy is endeavoring to bear the trial bravely and in the right spirit.

Father O'Farrell of St. Peter's Church in New York City preached at the funeral of Father Mooney. Bishop Corrigan understood "that it is very likely F. O'Farrell will be sent to Toronto." This did not happen. At Rochester an Italian Priest, Father Torre, was admitted to work in the Diocese there. About him Bishop Corrigan received some information from Father Byrne, Superior of the Dominicans in Newark, who declared:

In regard to Father Torre, I believe him to be a good Priest; and I think he could make himself very useful if he got the chance. He had been released from his obedience to our Order, as far as I can understand, is therefore free on that head.

The crisis was finally reached rather suddenly in the illness of Archbishop Bayley. For Bishop Corrigan penned a hasty note to Bishop McQuaid at ten o'clock on a Wednesday night, writing:

The Doctor has just been here and finds alarming symptoms in Abp. Bayley's condition, so much so that death seems very imminent,—perhaps tomorrow or in a few days. The Archbishop is in a state of partial coma and will probably lose consciousness altogether tomorrow. He has received all the Sacraments, and I am merely awaiting a moment of consciousness to excite him once more to acts preceding the last absolution. The news has taken us all by surprise, as this morning he rode with me to the College as usual, and I expected to return there with him tomorrow.

Pray for us all.

Archbishop Bayley died at Newark October 3, 1877. He was succeeded in Baltimore by Archbishop James Gibbons who had been appointed his coadjutor May 29, 1877.

DIOCESAN VISITATION

The death of Archbishop Bayley left Bishop Corrigan freer to attend to his own Diocesan Work, particularly the duty of visitation. Bishop McQuaid also became interested in this work for the Diocese of Rochester. It naturally entered into their correspondence and March 18, 1878, Bishop Corrigan explained at length his own method in this work:

As to the visitation, it was necessary to have some system in order to get through the Diocese in a reasonable time. Some small missions have not yet been visited, others only once in about five years. The clergy were informed that Confirmation would be given during the visitation wherever the children were prepared to be confirmed. They were also referred to the American Ceremonial for a list of things subject to visitation. Although many items found in the Ceremonial have no practical use for us, yet it seemed to be the easiest and least objectionable plan to refer to it.—All the essential points are found in the list, and the use of the Ceremonial being enjoined on the Clergy, the Bishop is free to insist on such portions as he thinks advisable. I have found, for instance, no corporal or any other lining on the floor of the tabernacle, but a mere bit of marble (unconsecrated) instead,—very commonly two altar cloths instead of three, particles renewed every month, &c., &c.

My plan was to study as carefully as possible in advance the laws of the Church in relation to everything connected with the visitation, in order to proceed more securely.—The good effects of Visitation are noticeable in the general brushing up of Sacristy and Churches.

Acting on your suggestion, I administer Confirmation during every Mission as far as practicable. With re-

gard to the general administration of this Sacrament, it is my intention to draw up a Map or table of all the churches visited, and to arrange that Confirmation be not delayed in any Church more than two or three years. Thusfar the object of the Visitation has been rather to examine the condition of the Altars, Vestments, Sacred Vessels, Church Registers, &c., than the mere temporal affairs. The financial statements give a tolerable insight into the latter.

Bishop Corrigan then requested Bishop McQuaid to send him his regulations for the *ordinary* expenses of a Parish Church, for he found that "there is great laxity here and variety of practice in this respect." He also informed Bishop McQuaid in the same letter:

The Holy See directed me to state in future *when* the Diocesan Visitation was accomplished, i. e. every year, every two years, &c., and then whether the visits extended to the whole Diocese, or only a part.

As to the faculties, the Cardinal stated some time ago that it was the mind of the Holy See that the old ones continued until new faculties, asked for, were received. The *Minutante* for the United States (Pierantozzi) has been quite ill for two or three months, and this has thrown everything back in Propaganda,—besides the suspension of work caused by the Death of the Holy Father.

* * * * *

As to the appeals, my impression is that we will certainly have a Delegate,—most probably Mgr. Conroy. He told me as much, i. e. that we would certainly have some one soon. Our Metropolitan does not relish the prospect, but he wisely adds that it is a question not so much of the *office* as the *man*.

Dr. Conroy is a great favorite at Propaganda and if Cardinal Franchi can accomplish it, he will assuredly be sent here to represent Rome. An entering wedge has already made its appearance.

APPEALS TO ROME

Troubles between priests and bishops were the occasion of appeals to Rome which gave rise to the rumor that a Papal Delegate was to be appointed to settle such cases. One of these was the case of Father Kirwan who had been the source of some priest trouble to Bishop Corrigan. The latter also wrote Bishop McQuaid about this matter:

F. Kirwan made a full and entire submission. No mention was made, at the time, of his position, but it is *understood* that he will receive a Pastoral charge when an opportunity offers. This was the arrangement with the Delegate when he tried to effect a reconciliation. I have not withdrawn my assent. He is still with Father Gessner and will remain, at least, until June, after the ordinations.

The "Party of Opposition" has been very marked during this Kirwan controversy. No doubt they will show their hand during the Synod. Please remember me in your Mass that I may do what is right. With God's help, Episcopal authority will be maintained. So much is fixed,—but how, or in what way will depend on the occasion.

At Rochester Bishop McQuaid found time in his busy life also to work for a local Catholic paper, the *Catholic Times* of Waterloo. When a copy of the paper reached Newark March 18, 1878, Bishop Corrigan read his articles with much pleasure. They gave Bishop Corrigan occasion to remark "that an officious layman of New York had written to Propaganda in connection with the abuse of flowers at funerals,—apropos of the obsequies of Dr. Anderson." Bishop McQuaid meanwhile was arranging his Diocesan affairs in view of his approaching decennial visit to Rome. As Father Doane was suffering from *pseudo Angina Pectoris* and had been ordered off duty for a year, he was also planning to

sail with his Sister in the Bothnia June 19, i.e. "if he can raise funds." After this phrase Bishop Corrigan added:

He hopes to meet you in Rome by Christmas, and go with you to Sicily and Spain. His brother of Albany goes to the Lambeth Convention, and later with F. George to Rome. Do try to make a good long visit abroad. After ten years' work your Diocese ought not to suffer you to go and return in six weeks.

Even close to the time of his departure for Europe Bishop McQuaid took up his pen in defence of the Church against outrageous attacks by Bishop Cox of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Western New York. Bishop Corrigan found the article on Bishop Cox "very enjoyable" and Father Salt relished it particularly and keenly enjoyed the ridicule, "as this is his vulnerable point above all others." Bishop Corrigan was then given an occasion to write Bishop McQuaid April 26, 1878:

A few days ago a pamphlet came here from Rome in a bundle of notices on Pius IX,—written in the same villainous spirit as Dr. Cox's strictures. It was the work of one of the miscreants who entered Rome with the Piedmontese. They stop at nothing.

Bishop Corrigan also complained that there was so much ecclesiastical gossip afloat that it was hard to know what to believe. Thus he wrote that "the news about Dr. Conroy being charged with a Mission to the United States is again contradicted." However, finance proved much more troublesome, as Bishop Corrigan frankly confessed to Bishop McQuaid, writing him in this same letter:

We are terribly distressed over the Hudson Co. Cemeteries. F. Cauvin induced Abp. Bayley to spend \$88,000 on available land at Secaucus, there being already some

\$16,000 debt on the old Cemetery. At present about \$100,000 debt, all told,—much of it in *Notes*, and no prospect of settling these liabilities for a long time to come. Now the Banks refuse to carry this paper, year after year; and the laws forbid Corporations to take Mortgages on Cemeteries. Besides the new Cathedral site is badly encumbered; the parties to whom the former site was sold, being bankrupt; hence no interest; \$27,000 accrued taxes and assessments. Heavy losses at the College, debts increasing. All these matters *entre nous*. But they worry F. Doane and myself immensely.

I ask your prayers for the success of the Synod.

In fact, Bishop Corrigan had so little money at this time that he declared to Bishop McQuaid August 23, 1878, his ability to pay for only the theologians amongst the Diocesan ecclesiastical students. To the financial troubles at home was added the burden of a North Carolina case, about which Bishop Corrigan saw Cardinal McCloskey August 22, 1878, who “counsels a peaceful exodus.” Bishop Corrigan therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid April 26, 1878:

It seems that already dissensions have recommenced concerning the disputes laid before the Delegate. Parties demand revisions of sentences, particularly the clergy as opposed to the Hierarchy.

The facts in the North Carolina Case seem to be true.

The financial worries really bothered Father Doane more than Bishop Corrigan who informed Bishop McQuaid that “any unpleasant news brings on an attack of sickness.” He was up and down from day to day. This was not encouraging if Father Doane was to be a travel companion to Bishop McQuaid abroad. Bishop Corrigan, however, gave better news when he informed Bishop McQuaid that Dr. Gomme wrote to himself a couple of weeks before this, expressing “the hope that you would permit him to

show you through his native Country,—whenever you should visit Europe.” Even then Bishop McQuaid seemed to have had thoughts in mind besides travel. For Bishop Corrigan apologized to him September 20, 1878, “for neglecting so long to send you St. Charles’ *Instructions on Ecclesiastical Buildings*.” He admitted that he had forgotten all about it until chance threw it in his way.

PRIEST TRIALS

In this same letter Bishop Corrigan also mentioned an important document from Rome on Disciplinary and Criminal Trials of Priests. He then informed Bishop McQuaid:

The recent *Instructio* of Propaganda was promulgated at the Conference on the 18th.—It is said the Clergy are not too well satisfied with it, as they think that great notoriety will now follow necessarily all such trials, and that failings cannot be covered up as in the past.

A postscript to this letter told that Father Kirwan, since the receipt of the Roman Instruction, had asked permission to go personally to Rome to further his appeals. Bishop Corrigan refused it “to save him time and money,” but declared that permission would be granted if he insisted. Another bit of news, included in this letter, revealed that Bishop Healy sailed for Rome on the 18th, “by advice of his Metropolitan, in order to have an adverse decision of the Holy See reconsidered,—in the case of L’Abbé Ponsardin.” In the first case a local settlement was unacceptable to a Priest and in the second case a Roman decision was unacceptable to a Bishop. In fact, litigation of Priests and Bishops was to be one of the problems with which Bishop McQuaid had to wrestle during his visit *ad limina*

in Rome. Bishop Corrigan evidently was anxious to see Bishop McQuaid before his departure for Europe, notifying him therefore:

I am just starting on visitation—to be absent until Oct. 1st. I have an engagement for Oct. 13 in South Jersey, but will be back the next day in time for your arrival.

Sending Bishop McQuaid upon request the address of Father Cauvin, 24 Rue S. Francois de Paul, Nice, September 26, 1878, Bishop Corrigan promised to ascertain other addresses likewise requested and to give them to him upon his arrival in Newark.

Father Doane was already in Europe. An anonymous item, going the rounds of the press, had made his friends anxious until Bishop Corrigan had received news from him the previous day “when a reassuring letter came from Ragatz, Switzerland (Sept. 8th), saying that he was much better and would be in England towards the end of October.” Bishop Corrigan then informed Bishop McQuaid that “We are making up a purse for him in Newark so that he can prosecute his travels in search of health, &c.”

The past week Bishop Corrigan had “been tossed about so much” that he did not remember what he had written Bishop McQuaid about the *Instructio*, but he gave him then the names of the Newark *Commissio Investigationis*: Messrs. McNulty, chairman, P. Corrigan, Satano, Wigger, and Dr. Smith, —“the last as Canonist. It would have been odious to pass him unnoticed.” The new procedure for dealing with cases of priests needed further amendment in the judgment of Bishop Corrigan. When he mentioned to Bishop McQuaid the report he had mailed to Propaganda September 13, he observed:

I was much tempted to insert a paragraph about the third factor in the Ecclesiastical problem; but feared to intrude on your province. However, very plain language was used concerning the ignorance of Europeans in general, of the English in particular, (hence Synod. Westminster), and of others *a fortiori* of the wants and difficulties of the Church in this country; of the unsuitableness of the old Canon Law, and the urgent need of new sanctions, e. g., that drunkenness be made a Canonical cause for suspension, of the need of some one also, who knows something about America, in Rome, either in connection with the S. Cong. or otherwise, &c., &c. Speaking of the support of the Church, I trenched incidentally on your province by saying that the faithful would cheerfully support a *good* Priest, disinterested, &c.

I look for much more good from your words and personal interviews with the Card. Prefect than from our Reports. They don't want to be instructed by us or any other outside barbarians.

I have reminded the authorities of the number of times I have applied, (at their suggestion), for lenten faculties, and begged to be instructed whether any further actions on my part were necessary! There is a lack of system and business habits somewhere, as your faculties abundantly demonstrate.

Bishop McQuaid's visit to Rome was indeed providential. His intervention, before he was disabled by grievous sickness, saved the American Catholic Church from a Roman decision in regard to trials of priests that he believed would have proved disastrous. Bishop McQuaid came home before the explanation of the Instruction had been issued at Rome. Bishop Corrigan, who had seen him upon landing in the United States, was anxiously looking for word from Rome. He remembered that he had not said Goodbye to Bishop McQuaid before starting for Rochester, and so he asked him the next day, by let-

ter, to excuse his forgetfulness. At the same time he wrote Bishop McQuaid:

No news yet from Dr. Hostlot. Two letters have just come from F. Doane in Munich; but nothing of consequence in either.

Entre nous, the *Instructio* had its genesis from the suggestion of Mgr. of Indianapolis. He drew up a Memorial for Card. Simeoni (or Franchi) with his own comments, e. g. the clause preserving the papers in the Episcopal Archives comes from him. Other suggestions were disregarded. Please not to mention this as he would not like it. — This only shows how individuals may influence the authorities and how important it is for the Church that the right sort of persons be near head-quarters so long as advice is not sought from those in authority here.

Bishop McQuaid's intervention at Rome in this matter had made such a good impression there that Rome thought him the proper person to bring the Metropolitan See of Cincinnati out of the financial chaos into which the Purcell bankruptcy had precipitated it. Bishop McQuaid, however, availed himself of the excuse, furnished by the bad after-effects of his sickness, to prevent his nomination as Archbishop of Cincinnati. When Bishop Keane read the draft of the appeal for Cincinnati to Bishop Corrigan, the latter reported to Bishop McQuaid:

It is very strong in the declaration that the Catholics of the United States are not responsible *in solidum* for any financial disaster that may befall any particular Church or Diocese. The good Archbishop was present at the reception given by the Xavier Union last night. Bp. Chatard mentioned that Mgr. Purcell did not even recognize *him*,—mistaking and addressing him as some one else.

While Archbishop Corrigan was at Cape May for a rest from his hard labor in the Diocese of Newark,

he received a few lines from Monsignor Hostlot, Rector of the American College in Rome. Bishop Corrigan promptly sent the news to Bishop McQuaid, writing May 12, 1879:

The Committee of Cardinals have drafted their reply to your points on the Instruction, but . . . this has not yet been put into print, and . . . Mgr. Agnozzi is still holding on.

At the same time Bishop Corrigan wrote of another letter he received from Rome which took him to task for his reply to the questions sent out by Propaganda the previous summer, complaining that he made no mention of his visit to Rome, of the visitation of the Diocese, the Synod, etc. He therefore asked Bishop McQuaid: "Really, under what question, or what head ought this information to be given?" He then added:

As to the rest, they say they will bring up what is said under No. 32, (whatever that is), in general *Comitia* of Propaganda. I believe I said they ought to try to learn something about America, and have some reliable informant *in Rome*, and this they turn into the suggestion that a Delegate is needed for the United States.

When Bishop Corrigan received extracts from Miss Edes in Rome, he promptly sent them on to Bishop McQuaid, June 11, 1879. He also sent to him what news in addition he received from Miss Edes, observing:

Mgr. Agnozzi was still holding back the explanation of the Instruction,—unwilling, it seems, that any part of the former document should be set aside. She says: "He has all the clinging affection of a parent for the *Instructio*."

Bishop Corrigan at once put the "Query: how many

authors has that wonderful paper?" He noted down a whole list of names: "Mgr. Chatard, Dr. Smith, Pierantozzi, Mgr. Agnozzi &c., like the cities claiming Homer as their own." He then informed Bishop McQuaid:

Your remarks on the paper had been received—(the report of your reply to the Clergy), and brought over to Propaganda, "to hurry them up."

Advocates—Priests only—to be first approved by the Ordinary,—and then permitted to defend a brother Priest, *all* cases of the past to be ruled by the Instruction, no matter *when* they occurred, and not by the Second Plenary Council. This is the sum and substance of the news.

Do you suppose what Conellan says in the *Boston Pilot* is true, namely that Commissioners of Investigation once appointed by the Bishop remain in office for life, except a removal take place by strict canonical process? This would be a heavy burden, particularly if those already named must remain perpetually in office—men placed there with the thought that they could be replaced at the next Synod.

Bishop McQuaid was still convalescing from the after-effects of his terrible siege of sickness at Rome. Bishop Corrigan trusted that the rest at Hemlock Lake did him so much good that he even asked him to let himself know if he could come to the Commencement at Seton Hall College. While Bishop Corrigan had been in Rome, he had obtained the privilege of a Plenary Indulgence for the two side altars of the College Chapel, the high altar having already been declared privileged by Archbishop Bayley. However, in preparing for the Examination in the Fall term of 1879, Bishop Corrigan discovered that foundations are not permitted at privileged altars (Konings 1797, no. 7) and so he felt himself obliged to have recourse to Bishop McQuaid to set-

tle a scruple of conscience. He therefore asked November 6, 1879:

Do you remember whether the promise to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice on the High Altar for Benefactors, (living and dead), and the promise to say Mass on St. Joseph's Altar for the family of Mr. Jasigi, were merely the promptings of gratitude, or the result of a stipulation with the donor?

It seems to me that, if there were no foundation in the strict sense, but simply a grateful acknowledgment which the College would very cheerfully keep up, the difficulty might be obviated, and the Indulgence retained. Otherwise I presume it would be necessary to apply to Rome for revalidation or to resign the privilege.

During the Summer Cardinal McCloskey had been at the College and had said "that he would call his suffragans together early in the Fall with view of obtaining help for himself." He had said nothing more about it since, but Bishop Corrigan had only seen him twice in that time on business and for a very short time. However, he trusted soon to see Bishop McQuaid, probably before Christmas. There was nothing new in the Kirwan case to report except that "he has been unable to find an advocate, and it is said that he does not fancy the Commissioners." Bishop Corrigan noted that Father Doane was "not looking strong," but thought that he was working harder "than his strength justifies,—but there is no stopping him." Such zeal certainly deserved its reward, and so Bishop Corrigan was pleased to write Bishop McQuaid finally March 29, 1880:

You will have seen through the papers the news of F. Doane's promotion. The cablegram came yesterday morning.

III

COADJUTOR ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK

1880-1885

Promotion also came to Bishop Corrigan while he was busy with Episcopal Visitations and other Diocesan business. He was appointed coadjutor to Cardinal McCloskey, being named titular Archbishop of Petra, October 1, 1880, with the right of succession to the Archdiocese of New York when vacated by the death of the Cardinal.

SETON HALL

Monsignor Doane was made Administrator in the Diocese of Newark until the appointment of a new Bishop. Meanwhile, Archbishop Corrigan presumed it to be necessary to elect the Administrator of the Diocese to the Presidency of the Seton Hall Board of Trustees with power to execute all papers. Archbishop Corrigan mentioned this to Bishop McQuaid in connection with the fact that the College mortgage was about to be placed in the Caldwell estate at five percent. He had just received the latter's Pastoral, proposing to the Clergy the plan of reducing debts on good terms. This was the special work that Archbishop Corrigan had hoped "to busy himself about in New Jersey for the rest of my career." He revealed to Bishop McQuaid that Mt. St. Mary's College and Seminary also had financial difficulties, writing from New York, January 12, 1881:

On Monday some of the old Mountaineers of this City met at the Cardinal's to devise measures of relief for their *Alma Mater*—to be followed by a general appeal to the old students. A similar meeting was held same morning by Bp. Loughlin. Results, Brooklyn \$1,250;

New York \$3,150. The debt is said to be fully \$100,000, of which about \$60,000 must be *floating*!

Archbishop Corrigan had more news about this matter later in the month and so he wrote Bishop McQuaid January 28, 1881: "Bp. Becker is in Brooklyn to begin a collecting tour for Mt. St. Mary's." At the time New York was "overrun with beggars and begging letters from Rome, two Syrians, two Abyssinians, an Indian Missionary, and one from North Carolina; with appeals also from the Holy Land." A second meeting for the relief of Mt. St. Mary's had already been held in New York January 17, 1881, the day after which Archbishop Corrigan confidentially informed Bishop McQuaid that now the debt was \$120,000 of which \$70,000 consisted of notes and outstanding bills. He added:

All this makes me reflect on the expediency of active measures for reducing the indebtedness of Seton Hall. Can you suggest any means? After the new Bishop comes, I hope something may be done in the shape of the S. Heart Union for the Protectory. Father Sheppard would be only too glad to undertake the work; but the Administrator has vetoed it for the present on the ground that the Protectory was more pressing. It would be an appeal for the Seminary.

Archbishop Corrigan's heart was still in Seton Hall. The night of January 17, 1881, its students made him "a New Year's gift of a handsome marble clock and other ornaments." The next day the Archbishop was in Madison to bless a bell for Father McCartie in Whippany. It was from the Convent in Madison that Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid that day in answer to a query as to the possibility of obtaining a lower interest on his Cathedral Mortgage. Mr. Plunkett had told Archbishop Corrigan

that there were no available funds in the Caldwell Estate at present, but he thought that by a little influence the Mortgage on the Rochester Cathedral in the Mutual Life could be reduced to five percent. He promised at the first opportunity to ask Father Quinn what could be done for property in Rochester.

BISHOPS AND REGULARS

As an afterthought Archbishop Corrigan scribbled over the top of the letter an important note:

The news comes indirectly through Paris that the question of Bishops and Regulars will be decided by an amiable compromise, satisfying to neither party. I learn that Mgr. Vaughan is named coadjutor to Westminster, *cum jure*. Card. Manning will not risk the Roman journey this winter on account of poor health.

Cardinal McCloskey was asked by the Bishop of Salford "to give his opinion on certain phases of the question between Bishops and Regulars, applied to this country." When Archbishop Corrigan mentioned this to Bishop McQuaid February 12, 1881, he added:

I understand that the decision in Rome is favorable to the Bishops; item that Dr. Vaughan is made Coadjutor, or about to be made, to Westminster.

The Caldwell Mortgage was executed yesterday.

NEW BISHOPS

A previous letter of January 25, 1881, was mostly concerned with the question of the division of Newark Diocese, about which there was considerable rumor although the names suggested for the sees of Newark and Trenton had not become known. However, a squib in the *Sun* had assigned Father Pres-

ton of New York to Newark and Monsignor Doane to Trenton, which the latter "*squelched* with a vengeance." About a month before this Father Hennessy spread "the news that some Bishop of the Province had written that Mgr. Doane was not a candidate." This no doubt pleased Father Hennessy, as Archbishop Corrigan revealed to Bishop McQuaid the fact of a very lively correspondence about the Commission between Mgr. Doane and this priest, which the latter demanded to have summoned in his squabble with Dr. Seton. The Administrator declined to do this "as he does not propose either to remove either of these Rectors or inflict a *gravis poena*; i.e. he stands within the limits of the law and requires the good Canonist to observe them." Although anxious to see no leak where Newark was concerned, Archbishop Corrigan gathered some confidential news which he communicated to Bishop McQuaid:

Entre nous, as I can say this without violating confidence,—*fide episcopali*, Mgr. Keane is candidate for North Carolina, and if his *petition* be not granted, one of the three named for Richmond will be proposed for the Vicariate. He and Bp. Kane and Bp. Gross were to be proposed for San Francisco by Bp. Alemany. Whether anything has come of it, I do not know.

As late as April 3, 1881, there was no news from Rome. Nevertheless, Archbishop Corrigan found plenty to write about in regard to two topics, the solution of a Convent Case and the scandalous articles in the press by a person signing himself at Utica as "Aglans," whom Bishop McQuaid had unmasked. This second matter occasioned Archbishop Corrigan to write Bishop McQuaid:

It seems to me that there is need of strong discipline

in the Diocese of Albany, to repress certain practices of raising money; but the customs are deeply rooted and apparently excite no comment on the part of the authorities. Many of these cases enter into the subject matter of the Utica dispute.

The Convent case apparently had to do with the way in which to carry out the offices of Holy Week. Archbishop Corrigan sent Bishop McQuaid a copy of the *Record* containing the solution of the Convent Case, remarking at the same time that Cardinal McCloskey had never interfered with the printed privileges and dispensations of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. He then cited Dr. Vaughan who touched the subject in one of his synods, saying:

The offices of Holy Week must be carried out in one of two ways, i. e. either according to the Pontifical and the Missal,—or according to the small Ritual of Ben. XIII . . . Bishops have no discretion in the matter . . . Convents that cannot carry out even the small Ritual referred to, should obtain a Papal Indult, (which was granted to certain convents in England, March 7, 1847).

The Cardinal is using my copy of the Salford Synods, which I received through Benziger last week, and which otherwise I would send you. Its chief usefulness for us is the short form of holding a Synod in *one session*, compiled under the supervision of Martinucci.

Various rumors again reached Archbishop Corrigan about the appointment to the vacant Diocese of Newark. When Bishop Hennessy called at the Cardinal's residence which had been moved to 11 West 38th Street, he told Cardinal McCloskey "that in Rome they talked of Bp. Lynch for Newark." Bishop Corrigan passed this on to Bishop McQuaid in a letter of April 21, 1881. However, eight days later he informed Bishop McQuaid that he had received a letter from Miss Edes in Rome, saying "that

the names sent from New York—(which she does not know)—do not seem to be acceptable to the Propaganda.” The same letter was probably the source for the next item of information in regard to the absolute refusal of Bishop Spalding to leave Peoria under any consideration, written to Cardinal Simeoni and apparently accepted at headquarters. Much more important was the statement added by Archbishop Corrigan:

Some time ago I wrote to Mgr. Hostlot to make inquiries about transfers from Parishes, the Canonical status of Rectors, &c. Meanwhile we hear again that the Cardinal Prefect will hear no appeal not previously entertained & passed upon at home, according to the *Instruction*, and that he will not bother himself about the removals from one Parish to another. Further, the Minutante adds that the theory of Mgr. de Angelis about Parishes in the U. S. is *correct*.

Rev. Mr. Kirwan has again demanded the right of prosecuting his appeal *personally* at Rome. The Administrator has reminded him of Card. Simeoni's letter of 1879, to the effect that he must first appear before the Diocesan and the Metropolitan Court.

Bp. Lynch is here . . . The Province of Baltimore is anxious to have the Bp. of Charleston named Envoy for American affairs in Rome. Bps. Gross & Moore, both of whom were in New York this month, are warmly in favor of the plan.

EGLER CASE

At this time a troublesome Rochester case, that of Father Egler, was actually in the Metropolitan Court after it had passed through the Diocesan Court. For the letter of Cardinal Simeoni required Cardinal McCloskey to take cognizance of it. He did not accede “to the request that the case be reopened, or anything else offered in consideration than the proceedings simply of the Diocesan Court.” Arch-

bishop Corrigan therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid April 29, 1881: "The way is made very smooth consequently, and the conclusion can only re-affirm the former sentence." Nevertheless, the text of Father Egler's appeal had not reached the Cardinal's House by May 2, 1881, when Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid. It was probably addressed to his old house which was now vacant. Three weeks later Bishop McQuaid received information that proved rather disturbing to him. The Cardinal himself had Archbishop Corrigan write him May 23, 1881, that the Commission proposed, in its meeting of that week, to invite Father Egler to send an advocate to represent him. This advocate was to be approved by the Cardinal who suggested that Bishop McQuaid send some priest to give further explanations of the case, if necessary. The Commission thought that "more evidence should be submitted than the mere question of fact, whether Rev. Mr. E. was or was not disobedient." The mind of the Commission was given Archbishop Corrigan substantially as follows by Father Quinn:

They want to go deeper and form an opinion whether the accused was *really* disobedient or not,—this question turning on the prior point whether he was standing within his rights or not. If the former, then his action should be considered rather a defence of his rights than an act of disobedience.

This really meant a reopening of the whole case which Bishop McQuaid did not think a justifiable method of procedure. When this was brought to the attention of Cardinal McCloskey by Archbishop Corrigan upon his return from Morrisania May 29, 1881, the Cardinal explained why he suggested that Bishop McQuaid send a priest to represent him in the case. Father Egler had chosen Father Lambert

as his advocate; but the Cardinal refused to accept him as such, inasmuch as Father Lambert was then the main trouble maker in the Diocese of Rochester for Bishop McQuaid. Father Egler then claimed that he could find no other and would have to appear probably in person to state his case. The Cardinal did not think it advisable for the Bishop to appear before the Commission to offer further explanations as he would be "incurring odium and giving a suspicion of prosecuting the accused too closely." Bishop McQuaid did not think that the Cardinal "should render judgment without a hearing of the Bishop," but the Cardinal "replied that the Holy See was the Judge in the case, and he was only to express his opinion on the fact whether the charges made in the trial were sustained or not." The Cardinal then added "some remarks on the dismissing forever from the Diocese one charged only with a single act of disobedience." This could not be very reassuring to Bishop McQuaid, especially as the Cardinal told Archbishop Corrigan "that the *Instructio* made no provision for the Bishop being heard by the Metropolitan before passing his opinion on the case submitted to his decision." Nevertheless, the Cardinal asked to keep Bishop McQuaid's letter for a few days "in order to study its contents better and impress the facts it relates more deeply on his memory so that he can communicate them more certainly to Mgr. Quinn." When Archbishop Corrigan wrote to Bishop McQuaid June 7, 1881, he warned him in regard to future correspondence.

Please do not make allusion to my quoting the Cardinal except in *private* notes to myself, as he sometimes wishes to see the letter itself, in order to grasp the argument more correctly.

Bishop McQuaid had replied to Archbishop Corrigan in regard to the Egler case June 6, 1881. The latter received the letter the next morning when he returned to New York from an ordination in Newark. Others were present so that Archbishop Corrigan could not speak of it to the Cardinal that day. Bishop McQuaid apparently was to make a visit to New York or South Orange soon; Archbishop Corrigan hoped to see him in New York Monday or Tuesday or thereafter in Seton Hall where Archbishop Corrigan was to spend Tuesday night. Finally, Bishop McQuaid's ideas on the method of procedure by the Metropolitan Court prevailed, and the decision confirmed that of the Diocesan Court. Archbishop Corrigan, therefore, informed Bishop McQuaid July 30, 1881:

F. Konings called here Thursday and was much gratified at the decision in the Egler case. He leaves today for Troy to give the Flemish Retreat at the Seminary.

The case had been settled before the departure of the Cardinal and his Secretary for Newport where they were to remain, probably until August 15, if the place agreed with his Eminence's health. He was extremely weak and could guide his pen only with great difficulty. For this reason his last letter to Bishop McQuaid had been written by Archbishop Corrigan at Cardinal McCloskey's dictation. Some days later, however, he wrote personally to Father Egler, and so Archbishop Corrigan confessed, writing Bishop McQuaid July 30, 1881: "I am not aware of its contents." Bishop McQuaid then wrote the Cardinal and his letter was forwarded at once to Newport.

BISHOPS FOR NEWARK AND TRENTON

Every time Archbishop Corrigan went to Newark meanwhile, he heard new rumors about the appointments to the dioceses of Newark and Trenton. The latest had the General of the Dominicans, who was on his way to the United States, bringing Bulls for Dr. McGlynn as Bishop of Newark and for Father Walsh, Vicar General of Philadelphia, as Bishop of Trenton who was then to be suffragan to Philadelphia. Father Hennessy had news, and it was a puzzle to Archbishop Corrigan how he obtained it. He declared to Bishop McQuaid May 30, 1881: "Some one must have written him from Rome,—possibly Dr. Ubaldi," giving the following reason for this:

As two of our Candidates have never been mentioned *at all*, I do not think any Bp. of the Province can have said anything about the nominees. It must be *Roman news*.

The actual appointments proved to be different than any one expected them to be. Archbishop Corrigan consequently wrote Bishop McQuaid July 30, 1881:

The nominations for Newark and Trenton are a great surprise to all of us, but there is no mistake in the names, as I was disposed to imagine; because on Sunday, the 17th, thirty hours in advance of Miss Edes' Cablegram, F. O'Farrell received the following from F. Mari: "*Salve, Praesul Trenton.*"

There is but one explanation, and that is, outside influence upsetting the recommendations of the Bishops. *Entre nous*, the Cardinal said this was very evident to his mind, but who the parties are, and what their motive, I cannot conceive.

* * * *

The new appointees are well pleased with the result.

Father O'Farrell is very glad that his work lies in a new field, in which he can work matters to his own satisfaction.

Dr. Wigger is naturally gratified at the confidence reposed in him. We are to meet at Mgr. Doane's at dinner on Monday next. The Monsignor is much relieved, and his friends are glad that the burden has not been put upon him, as his health would hardly permit it.

* * * *

As far as I know, both appointments are acceptable to the Clergy.

If the Holy See has accepted the limits suggested by the Bishops, the Diocese of Newark, it seems to me, will be geographically the smallest and most compact in the United States.

I have heard nothing of the views of "the opposition" relative to the appointments.

There was no outside interference in the appointments made to Newark and Trenton even though they did not represent the views of the hierarchy in the Province. A letter received by Archbishop Corrigan from Miss Edes in Rome gave the explanation, as he wrote Bishop McQuaid September 5, 1881:

The fact of Dr. Wigger's name being on both lists decided the question for Newark and that, as the old See was the more important of the two, it was judged best to put one there who was doubly commended.

Dr. Wigger's consecration was fixed for October 18 in Newark, Father O'Farrell's for November 1 in the Cathedral of New York. Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid September 14, 1881:

It was Mgr. O'Farrell's express wish to be consecrated after Dr. Wigger, and apart, although it would have been much more satisfactory to have both consecrations at the same time.

When the Cardinal begged to be excused from going to Newark to consecrate Dr. Wigger, the latter asked Archbishop Corrigan to consecrate him there. His Eminence was to consecrate Father O'Farrell, if his health permitted. Archbishop Corrigan even then found Cardinal McCloskey's weakness pitiable. It naturally tied his Auxiliary to his post, and he confessed to Bishop McQuaid July 30, 1881:

We have plenty of trouble here with the Poles, Bohemians, & Lithuanians; and I see that there are troubles also in Utica still and in Brooklyn.

In regard to Utica, Bishop McNeirney's expected arrival in New York September 5, 1881, occasioned Archbishop Corrigan to remark in his letter of that date to Bishop McQuaid:

The Utica case is darker than ever,—but I trust it is the darkness before the dawn and light. All this tells on our poor Metropolitan's health.

Cardinal McCloskey as well as all members of the American Hierarchy rejoiced in the news that had already reached them of the victory of the English Hierarchy in the case of the Bishops and Regulars in England. As early as May 30, 1881, Archbishop Corrigan remarked in a letter that Bishop McQuaid had no doubt seen the decision of the case in this week's *Tablet*. Two months later, July 30, 1881, he added in a postscript to another letter:

I was forgetting what I intended to say in the beginning, that Mgr. Kirby writes that the "Holy Father intends to extend to all countries under the direction of the Propaganda the provisions of the Constitution, *Romanos Pontifices*."

Regulars practically presented no problem in the Diocese of Rochester where the Redemptorists at

St. Joseph's Church possessed the only religious house of men, but Bishop McQuaid still had plenty of trouble with an ex-religious, Father Egler, who complained to Cardinal McCloskey that he had heard nothing further from Bishop McQuaid. From the brevity of Father Egler's note, the Cardinal suspected, as Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid September 14, 1881, that the priest was "meditating or preparing an appeal to Rome." Here Bishop McQuaid had Miss Edes get whatever she could find of Father Egler's past record. She inclosed her findings in a letter to Archbishop Corrigan who sent them to Bishop McQuaid December 5, 1881. Miss Edes reported:

I found out about Egler for Bp. McQuaid. I do not wish to bore him so soon with another letter, so will you please tell him that since I wrote, Fra Gian Domenico, the Ex-Provincial of America, says that Egler was ordained in Pittsburg by Bp. Domenec, and that the *dispensation* for saying Mass *sub conditione* of an assisting priest was no doubt given to him on leaving the Order. I mean the *Certificate Paper*; and if a duplicate be desired, it could only be obtained at the Bishops and Regulars by sending the date of the year and month of ordination which could be found out in the archives of Pittsburgh. Mgr. Agnozzi is always offering to do me any favor I wish, so of course he would give a copy of the document, if I could give some idea of the time, &c.

When Egler's appeal in twelve pages foolscap arrived in Rome, Miss Edes delayed writing Bishop McQuaid until she heard more about it. Writing this to Archbishop Corrigan, she added:

Cavicchioni promised to read it over and let me know this week something of the affair. No step will be taken before writing officially to the Bishop.

BISHOP WIGGER VS. MONSIGNOR DOANE

Worse trouble was then developing in Newark where Archbishop Corrigan reported September 14, 1881, the Cathedral "shorn of its glory" as "all blanks, &c.," have been ordered to be sent to Madison, of which Father Rolando had been appointed Rector so that the Archbishop surmised "that he will act as Chancellor." Not only was Monsignor Doane relieved of his work as Administrator, but he was also told by Bishop Wigger later:

You seem to be ignorant that the Bishop is *vi officii sui* Rector of the Cathedral, and you seem to be laboring under some strange hallucination that you are the Pastor or Rector.

Archbishop Corrigan understood privately from Bishop Wigger's Secretary that the Bishop would be satisfied if Monsignor Doane handed over to him the administration of all finances connected with St. Patrick's Church, the new Cathedral property, and Cemetery. The Archbishop then explained:

The Bishop's idea is that he can, by taking the reins into his own hands, not only diminish expenses, but also increase the revenues and pay off the debts on the new Cathedral Property.

The matter also came up, but in another light, at the Newark Conference, February 8, 1882, when stringent regulations were made regarding dispensations, &c. Bishop Wigger then declared:

A report has been circulated, either through ignorance or malice, that there has been difficulty with the Cathedral. This is true; but I would remind you that at my consecration I took the following oath: "*Possessiones mensae meae non abbreviabo.*"

When Archbishop Corrigan sent Bishop McQuaid this news the next day, he asked:

Is not this a strange reason for declaring null and void the perfectly legitimate action of Archbishop Bayley in appointing first you, then Mgr. D. Rector of St. Patricks Cathedral?

Even worse developments took place in the case, as Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid, writing at St. Joseph's Church in the City of Kingston, March 21, 1882:

Entre nous Mgr. Doane has been notified that he would be summoned before the "Commission." He appealed against privation of *vested rights* and is now put in the position of aggressor and called to *answer* charges! The Cardinal has advised recourse to Rome but meanwhile will endeavor to effect a reconciliation by talking the matter over with the Bishop. The position assumed against Mgr. D. is that he is playing the role of *Hogan* of Philadelphia!

It was not until June 19, 1882, that Monsignor Doane was summoned before the Council of the Bishop "to give an account of his administration and submit to an examination in the elements of Theology, to see whether he might continue his sacerdotal functions." Archbishop Corrigan reported the outrageous affair to Bishop McQuaid June 24, 1882, adding:

The latter part of the Examination was waived, and the former passed satisfactorily.—There is talk of Mgr. Persico being sent as Delegate to Canada and the United States, but nothing is decided on as yet.

The difficulty between Mgr. W. and Mgr. D. in Newark is likely to be settled by Propaganda. I trust it may be effected quickly without gossip or disedification.

Nevertheless, Archbishop Corrigan himself proposed "intermediation," but Bishop Wigger declined with

thanks on the ground that he would thereby place himself in a false position, admitting the possibility of any one but himself being the Rector of the Cathedral, and because he is determined "not to break his oath!"

COUNCILS

Difficulties between Bishops and Priests were in part responsible for the continuous rumors about the appointment of an Apostolic Delegate to the United States. It was also one of the reasons advanced for the holding of another Plenary Council of Baltimore, in regard to which Archbishop Corrigan had written Bishop McQuaid January 31, 1882:

The Cardinal requests me to ask the opinion of the Bishops of the Province on a point in regard to which he has recently been consulted by the Propaganda — the calling, namely, of a National Council.

Card. Simeoni's letter recites that some Bishops have expressed the wish that a Council be convened as soon as possible, in order to regulate Church matters better, —especially, the relations of Bishops and Priests, and the adapting the training of Clerics to the wants of the present time.

Our venerable Metropolitan is of opinion that these purposes may be attained more readily and efficaciously in Provincial Synods than in a Plenary Council, first— as these Synods could be held sooner, and next they would be better able to legislate for the specific wants of their own district. Our country has now become so immense and of such different elements that only very *general laws* can be found to be of uniform and universal application. Other reasons, on both sides will easily suggest themselves.

His Eminence would take it as a favor if you would kindly communicate your opinion and advice.

Bishop McQuaid promptly sent his views on the Plenary Council, for which Archbishop Corrigan

wrote his thanks February 9, 1882, declaring that "nothing further is needed." At the same time he had several things to say to Bishop McQuaid, but he did not attempt a long letter, as Bishop McQuaid was coming to New York the following week for the Xavier Union celebration. However, he did write him the most important thing:

The Cardinal has desired me to invite the Bishops of the Province to *suggest matters for deliberation* in the Provincial Council which he hopes to hold next October.

Evidently Cardinal McCloskey was determined to put into practice his conviction that the Provincial Council could legislate better than a Plenary Council for the local needs of each Province. Here would also come up another important matter for the development of the New York Province, about which Archbishop Corrigan had inserted a note in his letter to Bishop McQuaid January 28, 1882: "The only news about Syracuse is a *letter* from Card. Simeoni, *asking* if a new See should be made in D. of Albany." When Archbishop Corrigan received other news later, he passed it on to Bishop McQuaid, writing him:

Marquis Olivier & son-in-law are pushing F. Prendergast for San Francisco. New information has been asked for Nashville. The Pittsburgh case decided amicably—without going into the Congregation and rather in favor of Mgr. Tuigg.

But F. Hickey is to be given a Parish—Nothing new from Mgr. Doane. No settlement yet.

Abp. Gibbons is coming here today—to consult about advisability of asking for an American agency for Hierarchy in Rome.

Evidently not only the relations of Bishops and Priests, but also of Rome and the Bishops presented

problems that called for more satisfactory solutions than had been given hitherto. Furthermore, Irish Land agitation had also raised questions of Secret Societies, methods of campaign, and theories on land ownership. When the No Rent Manifesto in Ireland was approved in a dangerous set of resolutions at the Chicago Convention of the Irish Land League, Bishop McQuaid boldly condemned them from his Cathedral pulpit. Archbishop Corrigan, who was occupied with the Annual Visitation of Houses of Mercy, wrote Bishop McQuaid on the same subject January 28, 1882:

It was only this morning I could find time to read the Resolutions of the Chicago Convention.

I quite agree with Mgr. Cleary's judgment of them.

I mentioned the subject to his Eminence, but he dismissed it with simple remark that such was the accepted, though erroneous, American idea.

There was abundant manifestation of this "erroneous American idea" even in the American Catholic Press after Bishop McQuaid's condemnation. When the *Catholic Union* was mailed to Archbishop Corrigan as a sample copy, he informed Bishop McQuaid March 21, 1882:

I did not wade through the attack on the ground that "no layman" was competent to instruct a Bishop in Catholic doctrine, particularly in the premises.

This did not mean that Archbishop Corrigan was hostile to a Catholic Paper conducted by a layman. For he wrote Bishop McQuaid in the same letter that he proposed to ask the *Freeman*, which was McMaster's paper, to republish Bp. Vaughan's "fine Pastoral on the School Question, embodying arguments obtained on this side of the Atlantic." The school question was another vital issue that called

for legislation in any Provincial or Plenary Council held in the United States. New York was, in fact, not the only province pre-occupied with planning a code of laws to meet the conditions of the day in Church, School, and State. For Archbishop Corrigan also remarked to Bishop McQuaid in his letter of March 21, 1882: "The Council in Cincinnati must have done good work in these two weeks of constant labor."

Other developments in the American Church naturally came to the attention of Archbishop Corrigan who reported to Bishop McQuaid what took place after the death of Bishop Lynch who had been a frequent visitor in New York:

The grief felt in Charleston for Bp. Lynch was sincere and universal. He had won the respect and admiration of all classes, on account not only of his goodness of heart, but also of his scientific attainments. Only a few days before he died, he submitted, as chairman of the Committee, the final report for supplying the City with Artesian Wells.—

Everything in Charleston — except the Phosphate works, built since the war, and the Rice works, seem to be in a languishing condition. The Phosphates, discovered only a few years ago, are a source of untold wealth. There are now 30 factories and their profits immense.

The Province of Baltimore meets tomorrow to recommend candidates for the vacant See. The laity would like to have Bp. Northrop, and some of the Bishops also, but the Archbishop fears it would retard Religion very seriously to take him so soon from N. Carolina, so they will probably look elsewhere. This he told before the funeral, and I have not seen him since.

Not only the present condition of the Church, but also the past records of laborers in God's work then interested Archbishop Corrigan. He therefore thanked Bishop McQuaid March 21, 1882, for the

loan of Bishop Timon's *Sketches*. Promising to send them back as soon as he made use of them, he added:

But I must ask a little margin of time, as at F. Gabriel's desire the "Register" was left in Troy in order that he might inspect it at his leisure and supply dates of Ordinations, &c. So I cannot get to work very well until he returns the Register.

This came to be the *Register Of The Clergy Laboring In The Archdiocese Of New York From Early Missionary Times To 1885*. It was finally published in the *Historical Records and Studies of the United States Catholic Historical Society*, 1900-1907.

When Archbishop Corrigan first wrote of this work to Bishop McQuaid, the latter was more interested in the documents of the Egler case which Cardinal McCloskey had put away, but which he wished to forward to Rome. As soon as they were found, Archbishop Corrigan sent the opinions of the Rochester and New York Commissions, also the appeal of Father Egler to the Cardinal, in a registered letter, June 26, 1882, to Bishop McQuaid. In a separate letter Archbishop Corrigan gave him the views of the Cardinal and of himself on the opinion of the New York Commission:

The latter observed to me last week, when your letter came, that the Commissioners had prejudged the case, and this morning he added that the sending of the document would have the good effect of having their preposterous interpretation of the phrase, *advocatum ab Episcopo approbandum*, duly set aside.

You will also notice other disingenuous interpretations, e. g. the *effectus juridicos remotionis*; at least so it seemed to me when the paper was handed to me to read on last Saturday.

When Archbishop Corrigan penned this letter, he trusted that Bishop McQuaid kept quite well despite "busy work and the vexation of this litigation." However, the Cardinal's health was so bad then that Archbishop Corrigan had not ventured to say anything to him about the New York Provincial Council. This remark was occasioned by the fact that Mgr. Vaughan had just mailed him a copy of his eighth Synod of Salford that seemed "to be very practical. He makes vigorous use of the Constitution *Romanos Pontifices*."

CALUMNIES

As soon as Bishop McQuaid learned of the Cardinal's poor health, he invited him to Hemlock Lake, but Cardinal McCloskey had already made plans to visit Bishop Wadhams of Ogdensburg. This Bishop had been outrageously calumniated and Archbishop Corrigan explained how Cardinal McCloskey dealt with the calumny, writing Bishop McQuaid June 27, 1882:

The accusation of Freemasonry was really made against the Bp. of Ogdensburg, but the Cardinal did not even mention it to him, although he dined with us just at, or a little after, the time the accusation was received. The Cardinal despised the rumors and would not worry the Bishop or embitter his mind against those suspected of starting the calumny. It probably came from one who had to be disciplined by Bp. Wadhams. It was curious; Bp. Wadhams congratulated himself that he was in perfect peace then, for the first time since his consecration, considering everything in good order,—the very time this infernal machine was exploding under his feet.

In the Cardinal's letter to Propaganda (Feb. 7, 1882), this phrase occurs: *L'accusa di Framassoneria non solo è ridicola quanto mai, ma anche è maliziosa.*

Same letter also adds: "The question of the division

of D. of Albany had better be postponed until settlement of the Utica case and holding of Prov. Council.

Calumnies were also rampant elsewhere as Archbishop Corrigan discovered when a bundle of Roman papers reached him July 21, 1882. The next day he therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid:

It must be galling to the authorities to have names and motives bandied about so freely; and it does not conciliate any respect for the Church or her Ministers. Of course, the aim of the writer is transparent.

A week before this Archbishop Corrigan had attended a meeting in Philadelphia, at which also Archbishops Woods, Gibbons, and Elder were present, "to consider the charges made against Mgr. Hostlot," Rector of the American College in Rome. Archbishop Corrigan declared them to be "a revival of old tales of two years ago and, to my mind, mere gossip and worse." After the meeting, he informed Bishop McQuaid August 1, 1882:

Nothing definite was accomplished, but the rumors will be sifted, and the authors, if calumniators, dealt with accordingly.

Archbishop Corrigan was then resting at Seton Hall College from the torrid weather that had affected him for the last ten days. Here he learned that Bishop Wigger had purchased the Clapp Mansion in East Newark lately. He did not know definitely what was to be done with the Mansion and so he wrote Bishop McQuaid:

It is said to have 40 or 50 rooms and is spoken of variously as intended for a Protectory or as the Episcopal Residence. In the latter event the Bishop will spend three days a week at the Cathedral for the transaction of business.

NEW YORK PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

Another case threatened to develop in the Diocese of Rochester against Bishop McQuaid. Father Hughes of East Bloomfield, August 27, 1882, sent Cardinal McCloskey his complaint against the division of his mission. The Cardinal declined to take notice of it for two reasons: "first because the case did not concern him, and next, because Mr. Hughes' language regarding yourself was disrespectful." Father Hughes then sent a second letter, intimating an appeal to the Holy See and asking for the return of the first letter. The Cardinal refused this request, "as it may be needed later to show why the Cardinal refused to take any notice of the complaint." He also had Archbishop Corrigan write Bishop McQuaid, which he did September 22, 1882, thinking that the latter "should be apprized of Mr. Hughes' intention of appealing to Rome." Here again it was question of trouble between Bishop and Priest with the prospect of an eventual trial for settlement. Just then appeared Dr. Smith's second volume on *Ecclesiastical Trials*, of which Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid in this same letter:

I do not think any Bishop of the United States, (excepting his Ordinary—who also disagrees with "some of his conclusions and deductions"), will be likely to act according to his programme. He evolves beautifully the *Presbyterianisms* of the *Instructio*.

The Provincial Council would naturally have to deal with this question so as to exclude any danger of Presbyterianism. However, it was only towards the end of 1882 that Cardinal McCloskey had Archbishop Corrigan send the Bishops of the Province an invitation to meet him on Wednesday, December 13, in order to make arrangements for holding a Pro-

vincial Council in 1883. The Cardinal's new house had accommodations enough to house the Bishops who were therefore asked to accept his hospitality during their stay in New York. Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid November 26, 1882:

The object of the meeting next month is to elicit suggestions from the Bishops regarding the matter to be discussed later and to appoint committees to prepare the Pastoral Address — the letter to the Pope, &c. As to the time of holding the Council and the questions likely to be considered, I have not *the slightest idea*. I inquired if it would be held about May. The Cardinal said: "Yes, if it can be got ready by that time."

At the same time Archbishop Corrigan wrote of the Diocesan Synod which he declared "chiefly a reenactment of the laws made in 1842." The Cardinal had suggested the insertion of four or five new decrees, "forbidding habitual absenteeism, attendance at races and theatres, betting, flowers at funerals, and enjoining the use of the Roman collar." However, Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid: "I get the odium or the credit of them all."

This did not bother Archbishop Corrigan, but he was disturbed by what he had heard in regard to Seton Hall College during a visit to Philadelphia the previous week. A layman, who was at St. Vincent's Abbey in the Summer, when Bishop Wigger visited it, stated that "it was the common talk of the house that he had gone there to offer Seton Hall to the Benedictines." Archbishop Corrigan gave Bishop McQuaid some additional news November 26, 1882:

I hear the price fixed on Seton Hall is \$200,000, i. e. including the Burses in the debt, about \$100,000 surplus over liabilities: a good record after all and one would say, a reason for *not* selling.

I go to Newark this evening to preach for the

Dominican Nuns tomorrow and then go to spend Monday at the College. May God bring peace out of all this trouble!

The Archbishop was not only thinking of the fate of Seton Hall with which he and Bishop McQuaid had been so closely identified in the past, but also of the trouble pending between Bishop Wigger and Monsignor Doane, about which he also then wrote Bishop McQuaid:

The letter of Miss Edes has not yet arrived. She wrote to Mgr. Doane recently that the case would be referred to New York for information. The documents, I believe, are now in the hands of the Cardinal, i. e. a bulky letter from Propaganda came the other day and has been forwarded to Mt. St. Vincent's (where Cardinal McCloskey was staying at the time), and probably contains this case as well as some dispensations that we have been expecting.

Correspondence by letter in intimate matters such as these was not so satisfactory as conversation face to face. An occasion for a visit to New York was offered by the translation of the remains of Archbishop Hughes to the new Cathedral at the end of January, 1883. On New Year's Day Archbishop Corrigan therefore informed Bishop McQuaid:

All the Bishops of the *old* Province will be notified.

I hope you will make your promised visit about that time so that we may do something also for the Synod at that occasion.

Bishop McQuaid himself wrote a letter, suggesting a meeting of the Committee of Bishops the last week of the month. The Cardinal had Archbishop Corrigan acknowledge the receipt of the letter, saying that he would be glad to meet these Bishops then. The Archbishop added a significant postscript:

I have not succeeded thusfar in obtaining a single hint from his Eminence about the Synod.

Please come well prepared as the work will most likely devolve upon both of us alone.

However, some progress was made with the help also of others, as is evident from the letter which Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid April 20, 1883. It is important for the history of the preparatory work of the Provincial Council and so deserves to be printed out in full. The Archbishop informed Bishop McQuaid in this letter:

Dr. Gabriels came to town this week, bringing with him all the matter prepared thusfar for the consideration of the Bishops, and he and I together have reduced what he has written to a kind of skeleton, which will be found in the enclosed printed pages. These questions comprise the chief points hitherto presented by the various Committees, and many others no doubt will still be presented.

It was thought best, however, to have this list printed and distributed to the theologians. May I ask that those to whom you may give a copy be bound to secrecy?

Dr. Gabriels is now engaged in making a clear copy of his MSS., and as soon as received here, it will be sent to the printers and a copy forwarded, by installments, to each of the Bishops.

The Cardinal prefers that the proposed decrees be given, at present, only to the Prelates and the questions simply to the Theologians.

The matter prepared thusfar pleases me very much and, I think, with God's blessing it will make a very respectable Synod.

In a fortnight Archbishop Corrigan had "great pleasure in submitting at length," to Bishop McQuaid, for "examination and revision, a few pages of the *schemata*." In his letter of May 5, 1883, the Archbishop was able to declare that "four pages

more are in type and the proofs already corrected." Nine days later, May 14, 1883, Archbishop Corrigan expressed his pleasure in forwarding the concluding *schemata* of the Synod to Bishop McQuaid, whom he also then informed:

As the Cardinal's strength is visibly failing fast, we cannot well ask him to devote more than a week to the Council. In order then to crowd all our work into a few days, I make bold to ask the Bishops to have the kindness to examine the *schemata* in advance, as far as their occupations will permit, in order to save all the time possible for the many matters that will no doubt occupy our minds during the Council.

Bp. Loughlin will be invited to sing the Mass on the day of the opening of the Synod. Will you please Pontificate at the closing Ceremonies?

I would be glad to have the names of your Theologians at your convenience so as to make rough drafts of the Committees.

I trust also that you will be able to remain over a few days after the Synod to attend, if necessary, to unfinished or incidental business.

* * * *

I have written to Bp. Ryan about the Pastoral Letter and sent such points as I was able to throw together. He will very likely bring with him a carefully prepared document. If not, something can be done by the Bishops at large during the Synod or at all events on the Monday and Tuesday following: so that there would still be time to have the letter printed and distributed in time.

In a postscript Archbishop Corrigan asked Bishop McQuaid to be in New York by Friday Night, June 1st, "as there will be preliminary meetings of Bishops and Theologians Saturday morning and afternoon." One day later Archbishop Corrigan forwarded a "memorandum of dress and a note written last week to accompany concluding *schemata*." At the

same time he suggested that "the Baltimore plan of having the Discourse after the last Gospel" be followed,—“which will enable the Celebrant who was fasting to get a cup of coffee, and all the others who have their breakfast can afford to listen to a Sermon of becoming length.” Finally he expressed the hope that Bishop McQuaid would like the *schemata*, adding:

It seems to me that Dr. Gabriels has done his work admirably, considering the many calls on his time in the Seminary, the Examinations, &c., &c. He is a rapid writer also so that he can easily put our changes and suggestions into Latin during the Synod.

Despite all preparatory work already done, more authority was needed evidently from Rome to hold a Provincial Council. For the morning's mail of May 21, 1883, brought a rescript from Propaganda, giving *ad cautelam* all necessary faculties to hold the New York Provincial Synod. Archbishop Corrigan explained to Bishop McQuaid that day how this came about, writing:

It seems that it is out of order to have a Council pending the suspension of the Vatican Synod. So with the sanction of the Cardinal, I wrote, in my own name, for faculties, which have been granted. I do not know against what law we sinned, nor have I been able to ascertain, but they write that my doubts were well founded, *ragionevolissimi*, and they give all necessary faculties *onde tutto proceda con ordine ed esattezza*.

Another difficulty arose that morning when the Cardinal told Archbishop Corrigan to preside over the Synod in his place. The latter wrote Bishop McQuaid that "the Bishop of Brooklyn, as Senior Bishop, has the right of presiding in the absence of the Metropolitan." He therefore asked the good

offices of Bishop McQuaid, at the proper time, "to arrange it *de jure*", adding:

I mention it now because it would be proper that, as next in seniority, you should act as Promoter. The Cardinal would wish you to take this office conjointly with Bp. Loughlin, or, in fact, as he will be occupied with the presidency, to be prepared to act as Promoter yourself.

That morning Archbishop Corrigan also received a note from Miss Edes in Rome, from which he excerpted two items for the information of Bishop McQuaid. The more important item had to do with the Provincial Synod, in regard to which she sent this warning:

Do not bother much about the *Instructio* at the Council, as you will all have an opportunity *soon* of seeing to it directly. *Verbum sat*. This is all I can say at present.

Archbishop Corrigan wondered what she could mean. He asked therefore:

Is it a Delegate Apostolic? Is it a revision of our Laws? The Cardinal thinks it means the Delegate.

The issue back of all this was the trial of priests which also involved the relations of Bishops and Priests, particularly the authority of the former and the rights of the latter in the cases that developed. One of these was then pending in Rome, from which Miss Edes sent the following message to Bishop McQuaid through Archbishop Corrigan:

The Egler case will probably come on in the Congregation on Monday next, (May 7th), if they do not first begin with the Acts of the Synod of San Francisco, which would probably occupy the entire session. Will you notify Bishop McQuaid as I cannot write until Tues-

day next I fear, and it is as well to wait until after Monday to see what happens. From what I hear, I think, the Bishop will win.

Miss Edes had already sent both of them a copy of the *Praxis Fori Ecclesiastici*. Archbishop Corrigan hoped that Bishop McQuaid had time to read it, as he himself had not, but he would do so if possible, adding in explanation: "Of late a hundred things have demanded every spare moment." This was particularly due to the fact the Cardinal's health had become worse and worse. Finally, May 21, 1883, very unexpectedly a decision was intimated, in the afternoon, to Archbishop Corrigan, which he communicated at once to Bishop McQuaid:

As the state of his Eminence's health is such as to render it impossible for him to take any part in the proposed Provincial Synod, if held at the time fixed, he has decided to postpone it to the early fall, when he hopes to be able to preside. He desires me to express his very deep regret at what will doubtless be to you, as to him, a great disappointment.

Although the Cardinal's malaria was subsiding, Archbishop Corrigan thought that he would "hardly be able to hold the Council in the Fall" for the reason:

He cannot stand any strain, and the division of Albany Diocese alone would be enough to make him hesitate about reconvening the Synod. That is, unless Mgr. McNeirney will have the grace to yield quietly to the inevitable.

Additional matter still came in for the Provincial Synod of New York. The Paulist, Father Walworth, sent in two copies of his proposed decree on temperance, but the Cardinal thought it best "to handle the subject in the pastoral Letter, as the people are

not expected to see the Latin Decrees." Archbishop Corrigan himself thought advantage might be taken of the delay in holding the Synod by consulting the Holy See about the contemplated decrees, but he would not move in the matter without consulting other Bishops. He was led to this idea by the fact told him some months ago by Father Konings, namely that "the Synod of Utrecht was previously submitted in this way to the Holy See."

Archbishop Corrigan was still speculating about the hint Miss Edes had sent from Rome in regard to the *Instructio*. He finally guessed the truth when he wrote Bishop McQuaid May 29, 1883: It "must be a Third Council of Baltimore, or something of that character, as the sending of a Delegate would hardly afford the intimated opportunity of discussing the *Instructio*." When Miss Edes' notes on the *Instructio* reached Archbishop Corrigan, he sent them on to Bishop McQuaid June 12, 1883, asking him to return them at his leisure, as he himself had "not yet read them carefully." He added:

It was quite a painful surprise to hear that Egler was sustained. Miss Edes' letters gave me to understand the contrary.

In his trouble in the Diocese of Rochester this priest had appealed to Rome against his Bishop. When Bishop Spalding passed through New York in February, he had very little news from Rome, but he did tell Archbishop Corrigan:

They are sick and tired of appeals and determined to get rid of them. Next . . . they cannot get reliable information from us.

He understood that a Delegate (with four or five Canonists) would come over for the Plenary Council and remain provisionally on trial. If the result proved satisfactory, he would be appointed definitively.

Cardinal McCloskey was still so weak that he was unable to get up or down stairs. Nevertheless, his physician, Dr. Keyes, declared that he could preside at a Council in the Fall. Expectations then put the Synod in October, Archbishop Corrigan thought that it would be either the first week or that ending on Rosary Sunday. He wrote Bishop McQuaid therefore, also on June 12, 1883:

In that event, the subjects to be discussed in Rome would be canvassed by the Bishops and some definite plans suggested.

Archbishop Corrigan expected to be busy up to that time with work one way or another, but he counted upon taking a vacation in a trip abroad. For he was on the committee of Archbishops summoned to Rome for preparatory work on the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Informing Bishop McQuaid that the Cardinal had decided to open the Council September 23, he also wrote July 23, 1883:

The Cardinal would like to have the advice of the Province on the Roman Questions: viz. training and government of the Clergy; Education of youth, Church Property, Church Buildings, debts, &c.—

In this letter Archbishop Corrigan also wrote at length of a priest in Hoboken who belonged to the Diocese of Newark, who had the same family name as himself, but was no relative. This priest used his pen to write strongly in favor of priest rights against Bishops and so came into collision with his Ordinary, Bishop Wigger. However, the Archbishop wrote of this priest to Bishop McQuaid:

Father Corrigan has made his submission to the Bishop and, in compliance with an absolute order, has suppressed the stereotype edition,—and the plates were broken up by the Publisher in the Bishop's presence.

But the latter has since informed me privately that he had reason to believe that the pamphlet has been passed over to a Protestant firm by Sullivan and so the poison will spread.

F. Corrigan, of course, has had me in mind many a time in writing. I have seen him only once since his return from Europe, and then he called to ventilate his views on Episcopal nominations. I imagined it was in view of the Prov. Synod then about to be held; not a word was breathed of any possible publication.

An important matter, not only for this Provincial Synod of New York, but also for the National Synod at Baltimore, was the health of Cardinal McCloskey. When Archbishop Corrigan sent Bishop McQuaid congratulations on the payment of the debt on the Rochester Cathedral, thanking him for the Secretaries' Report August 9, 1883, he also stated in regard to the Plenary Council: "Should it be held & the Cardinal be infirm, a Roman delegate will preside." The Archbishop also sent other bits of interesting news on the same subject:

Bp. Dwenger passed through the City Monday. Says that the Holy See will simply propose an outline of subjects of discussion for us to fill out as may be deemed best. Item, I hear that the Plenary Council is not so certain. The Bp. says the first question to be considered is the advisability of holding a Council or not.

Abp. Gibbons, who was here Tuesday, is adverse to Council.

A fortnight later, August 23, 1883, Archbishop Corrigan repeated this information in a letter to Bishop McQuaid, adding: "If others are like-minded, the desired legislation may be attained in some other form." He was also glad to be able to communicate another statement by Bishop Dwenger: "It is also commonly supposed that the *Instructio*

will go by the board." However, this led the Archbishop to ask: "What can we propose to take its place?" The problems presented by the trouble of Bishops and Priests with each other continued to press for a real solution, and the Archbishop naturally referred then again to the case of Father Corrigan of Hoboken, writing:

F. Corrigan is still trying to obtain Episcopal Sanction for a revised edition of his pamphlet, but without success. He says he has been offered \$4,000 for it and that, by some informality, the copyright has passed out of his hands.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Corrigan had begun the Visitation of the Archdiocese of New York with the sanction of his Eminence, Cardinal McCloskey. He described it to Bishop McQuaid as "an entering wedge for something better." It was pleasant enough, but the work was "rather crowded, as notice to begin was so long delayed." The Clergy, he declared, take the visitation in good part, and some have openly expressed their joy that "some one took an interest in them." After he had confirmed 157 in Matteawan, New York, the morning of August 23, 1883, he took time to write Bishop McQuaid in regard to the Provincial Synod of New York:

I hope you are pleased with the distribution of Committee work on the Synod. F. Farley writes that he has sent out copies for consideration. The Circular ordering prayers has been reprinted and will be issued next week. The *Acclamations* have also been printed, and so nearly all has been done that can be done in advance. I understand that, as Bp. Ryan has been ill, Bp. O'Farrell, when in Atlantic City recently, was invited to prepare portions of the Pastoral Letter. This ought to be a careful and weighty document, as the Council will be judged by it, by the outside world.

In this letter Archbishop Corrigan also asked Bishop McQuaid to send him "Cavicchioni's remarks on the *Instructio* when convenient, so that they can be studied before the Synod week." As this approached, Bishop McQuaid received Cardinal McCloskey's invitation to be his guest during the Provincial Council through his Secretary, Monsignor Farley, who wrote him September 12, 1883:

The first general congregation, at which all the *Synodales* are expected to be present, will be held at the Cardinal's house at 4 o'clock P. M. Saturday Sep. 22nd.

You will be glad to know that the health of his Eminence is so far improved as to enable him to say Mass two or three times a week.

During the Provincial Council the Bishops commissioned Archbishop Corrigan "to inquire at Rome (1) about the status of Regulars leaving their Community (2) about Secret Societies, (3) about burial of Catholics in Protestant graveyards, item, (4) to obtain faculties in double impediments, *absolutio criminis*, and to authorize the 40 Hours' Devotion in chapels of Religious Houses." It was not until January 19, 1884, that Archbishop Corrigan availed himself of the first moment of leisure after his return to New York to report progress in these matters, writing Bishop McQuaid as follows:

(1) The case of Religious leaving their Community is provided for in the Roman *Schemata* chapter V.

(2) The question of Secret Societies is treated in Chap. 14 No. 2 where the criteria are enunciated according to which judgment is to be formed in particular cases. The Holy See declined entertaining questions of fact, leaving to Ordinaries the duty of applying the principles proposed for their guidance, with instructions to recur to Rome in case of doubt.

(3) The question of the burial of Catholics in

Protestant cemeteries is now engaging the attention of the Holy Office, whose decision will be forwarded to you as soon as received.

(4) Faculties for dispensing in twofold impediments and *absolutio complicitis* were mailed from Rome Nov. 16 & 20th. Other faculties are now enclosed.

It was intimated at the Propaganda that more favorable conditions could be obtained later concerning the keeping of the B. Sacrament in private Chapels.

III PLENARY COUNCIL OF BALTIMORE

The reference in the first two questions is to the fundamental document that had been prepared at Rome jointly by the authorities there and by a Committee of American Prelates as the basis of the legislation to be framed in the Plenary Council. It was in regard to this important preparatory work that Archbishop Corrigan had assured Bishop McQuaid in his letter of August 23, 1883:

I will try to be as firm as I know how in Rome, but these diplomats have a way of their own of "circumventing" the unsophisticated and surprising them into concessions unawares. We will do all we can.

* * * *

The death of Abp. Vaughan was a great shock. He intended to be in Rome in November and would have been a strong help to us, as his circumstances were so like our own. He had had many difficulties to contend with in Australia.

Despite all that was actually accomplished at Rome in formulating the preparatory *schemata* for the Plenary Council, Archbishop Corrigan still looked for further developments after his return to New York. He therefore delayed answering a letter he

received from Bishop McQuaid February 13, 1884, "in the hourly hope of seeing Abp. Feehan and Bp. Chatard" whose arrival was overdue on account of the fog. He thought that they might bring some later news from Rome. Nevertheless, without waiting any longer, he replied to Bishop McQuaid's letter the next day, giving important information on the work done at Rome:

The Bishops are certainly responsible for all the Roman documents, *except* the mode of trying clerical cases. They accepted, with more or less unanimity, all the rest. And it seems to me the only paper to which exception can justly be taken. There is no new legislation regarding Public Schools; nor even new interpretations as far as I know. Certainly there is no new legislation, because we are expressly required to observe the old and already existing Instruction of 1875,—(the only one on the subject). And no new interpretation if I mistake not, because to date no previous *authentic interpretation* was even issued. As F. Konings says in his Theology (Vol. I, p. 473): *Scholae publicae "aliquando, justa de causa et remoto perversionis periculo, adiri possunt prout et ipsa Instructio, quae tota huic principio innititur, perspicue docet."* As long as this *Instructio* remains in force, the advocates of Public Schools must step aside; and I cannot see that the Roman *Schemata* imply the downfall of Parish Schools.

It seems to me that the important point *now* is to represent to the Holy See all the objections against the proposed method of clerical trials. *Nunc est acceptabile tempus, nunc tempus salutis.* These difficulties should be stated clearly and strongly before the Council meets and permission obtained to revise the *Instructio*, either by individual or concerted Episcopal action.

Preoccupation with such important constitutional matters did not prevent churchmen such as Bishop McQuaid and Archbishop Corrigan from fulfilling regular tasks of the episcopate, no matter how arduous they were. Bishop McQuaid was then making

his Diocesan Visitation while Archbishop Corrigan was also "making the rounds of the Archdiocese, although not actually performing the services of visitation." Bishop McQuaid's *Visitation Circular* seemed "very complete and comprehensive" to the Archbishop who wrote the Bishop May 14, 1884:

I would like very much to see a copy of it in the hands of every Bishop. Our good friends who want Canon Law will have reason to say that they will be treated to it in abundance.

The tradition of making Visitations will be started and enforced, and this will do good.

* * * *

Bishop Gross has been in town for a week. He is to preach on the Negro question during the Council.

In the same letter Archbishop Corrigan was pleased to inform Bishop McQuaid of "a curious, impressive, and edifying scene" at the colored Church the previous Sunday, where "63 persons received Confirmation, of whom 25 were converts." However, anything but edifying to the two Prelates was the conduct of Father Corrigan of Hoboken. The Archbishop asked Brentano May 28, 1884, to send Bishop McQuaid a copy of Father Corrigan's pamphlet, about which he wrote him the following day:

You will notice that he shelters himself under the mantle of a Roman Cardinal (Parocchi), because he said nothing in his first essay against faith or morals. He certainly sins against good order and discipline in the second and respect for episcopal authority; and I believe that his Ordinary could very well forbid the publication on the strength of general principles as well as by reason of the special authority given by the Holy See in the letter published in the Council of Baltimore p. 333 & 334 (last paragraph).

He pays his respects again to Miss Edes, and I presume to you and me when speaking of the Prelates who give her encouragement.

Bishop Wigger of Newark wrote Archbishop Corrigan that he was "thinking seriously of writing to the Holy Father, direct, on the subject; and also resolving in his mind whether and how far he ought to punish the offender." In his reply the Archbishop hinted what he considered a more prudent line of conduct:

It would be as well to *ignore* the work and its author here, though he might write to the H. See if he deemed it advisable. Rome will not so easily understand *our* circumstances, and Card. Parocchi is already on the author's side; and the sympathies of many others are no doubt also with him.

Plenty of priest trouble was developing just then also in other dioceses throughout the United States. In the Archdiocese of New York, Father Ducey was in some difficulty with the authorities. Before presenting himself upon his return there, he sent Cardinal McCloskey and Archbishop Corrigan two pleading letters from Mgr. Fabre. The Archbishop informed Bishop McQuaid June 5, 1884: "The Cardinal intends to make some radical changes in F. Ducey's style of life; what they are precisely, I do not know." In the Diocese of Rochester Father Lambert, the distinguished author of the famous *Notes on Ingersoll*, etc., became embroiled with his Bishop who suspected that he had written to the Metropolitan of the Province, but Archbishop Corrigan declared July 15, 1884: "Father Lambert has not written in any sense." Thus the question of judging priests became a more and more vital issue. In this matter the Archbishop sent Bishop McQuaid,

by the same letter, news that must have pleased him :

Mgr. Gibbons writes that he has inserted in the *schemata* for the Council (Chapter 2nd) our 15th Chapter, Provincial Synod *de Judiciis Clericorum*. He says that several Prelates have expressed a desire for specific legislation on this subject.

Entre nous, the division of Albany Diocese has been presented by Ppgda as one of the supplementary questions to be decided by the Council.

I have urged Abp. Gibbons not to *print* this among the topics for discussion, as we can quite as efficaciously compass the same end by less odious means.

By the direction of the Metropolitan, Bp. McNeirney has been advised of the intentions of the Holy See, so that he can still move *first* in the matter, if he desire.

Whereas the *schemata* for the Plenary Council left the problem of condemning individual societies to the Ordinaries, Archbishop Corrigan was thinking of what was to be done in the case of the *G. A. R.*, even though it was not a secret society. He had written to Bishop McQuaid about the matter, to whom he expressed his thanks for the advice he received, with which also Bishop Ryan of Buffalo agreed. He explained further :

The reason for their condemnation is taken from their Ritual. It is not a mere prayer, but page upon page of ceremony, adaptation of texts of Scripture, &c., &c., all devised in a thoroughly Protestant spirit by a Protestant Chaplain. I feel confident that the Holy See would certainly include such a Ritual and such a Society amongst those condemned according to its prescription.

If there was any doubt about the action to be taken in the case of the *G. A. R.*, there could be none in regard to Freemasons. For May 10, 1884, Rome had issued an Instruction *de secta Massonum*, a copy of which was sent to the Bishops, whose

Metropolitans were to report "what steps they have taken in the premises, either individually, or in concert with their Episcopal colleagues, and with what success." Archbishop Corrigan therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid August 7, 1884:

In obedience to this Instruction, His Eminence begs all the Bishops of the Province to have the kindness to send him, some time during this present month, their views and suggestions on the question of Freemasonry in order that he may make his Report to Rome.

Another matter that was also to come before the Plenary Council was concerned with the American College at Rome which at this time was endangered by cholera then raging in Italy. Both the Archdiocese of New York and the Diocese of Rochester had ecclesiastical students that were ready to leave for Rome to enter the American College, but a letter was received in New York about which Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid September 26, 1884:

Father Schulte writes this morning, hoping that no new students will be sent "before the cessation of the plague."

He also tells me that the Holy Father has approved the Bull canonically erecting the American College. This document settles the vexed question of the Rectorship, viz. that the Rector shall be an American, and a *real* Rector, not a mere deputy or agent of Propaganda. The Bull will be sent to the Council of Baltimore.

As the time for opening the Council drew near, there was evidently some pressure to force upon the Council a Prelate from outside who had come to America on other business. For Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid October 2, 1884:

Abp. Gibbons writes that Mgr. C/onroy/ has not been, and will not be, invited to preach at or to attend even

the Plenary Council although letters have already been received in Baltimore requesting the Sermon: which letters have remained without answer.

I understand that some of our Canadian Prelates will honor us by their presence.

Meanwhile an important Bill in the Legislature of New York, recognizing the constitutional right of inmates in Penal and Eleemosynary Institutions of New York State to Freedom of Worship, had miscarried. This naturally had its political repercussions in the election campaign. Archbishop Corrigan had therefore occasion to write Bishop McQuaid in the aforesaid letter:

Mr. F. R. Coudert has just been trying to shove the blame of the Freedom of Worship Bill from the shoulders of Mr. Cleveland to the House of Refuge; and most strenuously objecting to Blaine as anti-Catholic, &c.

In Rochester, a distinguished Catholic Layman, Mr. William Purcell, working in close co-operation with Bishop McQuaid, had long before this obtained freedom of religious worship also for the Catholic Inmates of the Western House of Refuge located there, which was denied to the boys confined in the New York House of Refuge on Randall Island. As far as Blaine was concerned, he was unfortunate enough to play into the hands of Cleveland on the eve of the election when he failed to repudiate a Protestant Minister's denunciation of "Rome, Rum, and Rebellion" in support of his election.

When finally the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore began its work November 9, continuing till December 7, 1884, it did it so effectively as to rank as one of the best councils held in the whole course of the Church's History. Both Bishop McQuaid and

Archbishop Corrigan contributed much to its work. Soon after its conclusion Bishop McQuaid was pleased to find that his disciplinary measure in the case of Father Lambert received the approval of the Apostolic See. The decision of Propaganda, which reached him December 16, 1884, substantially declared: "The Bishop is not obliged to grant faculties to a priest for the whole diocese and can, consequently, limit them to a particular mission." This news led Archbishop Corrigan to write Bishop McQuaid December 21, 1884:

I congratulate you on the prospect of peace and the triumph of discipline in the decision sent by the Holy See. The words are almost a repetition of those used by the Cardinal when Father Lambert appealed to him.

I have just read your letter to the Cardinal who is gratified at the news.

When Archbishop Corrigan wrote this, he had heard nothing from Baltimore in regard to the Plenary Council "except that the Secretaries are making verbal emendations in the Decrees—preparatory to printing them anew for Rome," to which Bishop Moore of St. Augustine and Dr. O'Connell, Rector of the American College, were to bring them. Archbishop Corrigan, mentioning the death of Dr. Ubaldi, declared it, particularly at this time, "a great loss for the American College, as the young Rector is now entirely alone, without advisers and without an assistant." In fact, there were fears that neither Bishop Moore nor Dr. O'Connell would be able to get Rome's approval for all the work done by the American Hierarchy in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Archbishop Corrigan therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid January 15, 1885:

For the Decrees of the Council, I think we must rely very much, after prayer, on our own representations

to the Holy See. Although the Abp. of Baltimore has a very high idea of Mgr. Moore, yet the majority of Bishops throughout the country will agree with you in regarding him simply as "a bearer of dispatches." Dr. O'Connell will be entrusted with all the delicate work; but will he obtain a hearing? Will the Holy See pay much attention to his statements? A simple priest does not count for much in Rome.

Influenced by these circumstances, Archbishop Elder finally wrote to Baltimore, requesting that Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland go to Rome as the representative of the American Hierarchy, although Father Schulte had written from Rome to Archbishop Corrigan that Dr. O'Connell expected to return to the United States in June. The Archbishop therefore concluded in writing Bishop McQuaid March 24, 1885: "So he looks for a speedy approbation of the Council." However, Archbishop Corrigan was able to write Bishop McQuaid from Baltimore May 9, 1885, in regard to Bishop Gilmour:

We have succeeded in procuring for him a letter to Card. Simeoni, accrediting him as our agent. The letter was very hastily drawn up by me between two sessions, but it is signed by all the Bps. present, namely by Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, S. Paul, Peoria, Petra, and we added also Cincinnati.

I trust it may do good as there is still abundant time.

It did good, as it gained the Council, in its essential work for the welfare of the Catholic Church in the United States, the approval of the Apostolic See. Archbishop Corrigan sent Bishop McQuaid the latest news of the Council September 26, 1885, adding:

The decrees are ratified in substance. We are required to write Propaganda for consent to borrow large sums of money in special cases and every three years to make a report of our operations. This will open the eyes of Propaganda to the real condition of affairs here.

Rome moved slowly as might have been foreseen. By January 26, 1886, Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid that "only four answers have come to the six petitions sent to Rome." He only knew that the Feasts of the Epiphany, the Annunciation, and Corpus Christi had been suppressed. Nevertheless, Archbishop Gibbons had "been notified to print the Decrees without waiting any longer for Answers."

Meanwhile an article had appeared in the *London Tablet*, December 26, 1885, which took it from the *New York Sun*. It was based on the private minutes of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Bishop McQuaid thought that the Rev. Dr. O'Reilly had communicated this inside information to the *New York Sun*. However, Archbishop Corrigan declared, writing the Bishop January 26, 1886:

The Correspondent of the *Sun* and the *Tablet* is not Dr. O'Reilly, but H. P. McElhone of the Baltimore *Mirror*. This I ascertained *privately* only last Saturday, but in a most certain manner, viz. in the handwriting of Mr. Dana himself (Editor of the *Sun*). Please keep the matter *private* for reason I will make known later; but I would suggest your writing to Baltimore and asking how it is that a layman (as you know the writer to be and a layman of that city) can publish the private debates of the Council in a garbled form. I *cannot* well write because it might compromise my friend who wrote to Mr. Dana; but a note of inquiry from you would not lead to any revelations.

Dr. O'Connell insisted, when here, that the letter came from *Mori*, and in that supposition I wrote to Bp. Vaughan, warning him to be on his guard.

Bishop McQuaid took up the matter with Archbishop Gibbons along the lines suggested by Archbishop Corrigan. The latter, however, sent the Bishop a note of caution, writing February 4, 1886:

As Miss Dana obtained the information at my request from Mr. Dana, the Editor of the *Sun*, and as he is constantly saying a good word for the Church, I doubt if it be either fair or politic to push the McElhone matter any further.

You might say if you choose that you have positive information that the correspondence emanated from Baltimore, reserving to yourself the right of keeping the author's name private. This would naturally lead to inquiries at the office of the printer of the *Acta* and the *Mirror* and so might betray the source of your information.

The allusion to Dr. McDonnell means that he and Dr. O'Connell suspected *Mori* of the authorship of the article.

Bp. Vaughan writes that he lectured the Sub-Editor of the *Tablet* on his simplicity *in re*, putting him on his guard in future.

In his letter to Archbishop Gibbons, January 28, 1886, Bishop McQuaid had already done what Archbishop Corrigan here suggested.

Meanwhile the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore had eclipsed the New York Provincial Synod. It was therefore only January 23, 1886, that Archbishop Corrigan received a letter from Propaganda, informing him that the New York Provincial Synod "would soon be examined," and so there was "a request made for additional copies." The Archbishop therefore informed Bishop McQuaid January 26, 1886:

Dr. Gabriels will come here Monday and we will begin, as soon as possible, to prepare a corrected edition; and either in the text itself or on separate sheets, the four or five discrepancies with the Plenary Council will be indicated. Have you anything to suggest in the premises? Of course I will not change an iota without consulting the Bishops.

IV

ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK

1885-1902

SUCCESSION

As soon as Cardinal McCloskey died October 10, 1885, Archbishop Corrigan succeeded, as he had been co-adjutor with the right of succession. The inheritance of the Cardinal's estate unfortunately was not so simple; it involved not only personal, but also considerable Church property in a State inheritance tax. Archbishop Corrigan therefore expressed his hope to Bishop McQuaid January 28, 1886, "that the succession tax on the Cardinal's Estate may be remitted." Messrs. Glover and Barry had been instructed to contest the claim. He had explained the situation more fully in his letter of January 20, 1886:

I believe that there are about 100 Churches and Missions in this Diocese that still stand in the name of the Cardinal,—not having been incorporated. On all these, by a recent law enacted last June, a tax of five percent is now due.

I have been requested to give notice to the Bishops of the Province that they may take measures if they see fit, to escape the succession tax.

Again, would it not be well to employ some competent person to watch the Legislature for us? We might all contribute *pro rata* to defray the expenses. However these matters may be considered when we meet.

These matters also entered, together with others, into Archbishop Corrigan's communications to the Bishops of the Province, to whom he wrote, as he informed Bishop McQuaid February 1, 1886:

1. enclosing circular received from Baltimore this morning; 2. detailing succession tax of 5 p. c., and sug-

gesting the propriety of transferring property to Incorporations; 3. about expediency of employing an agent at Albany; 4. asking if they have any observations to offer regarding the Prov. Synod of 1883.

Dr. Gabriels is here and we are reproducing the text of the Decrees intact, with foot-notes pointing out the discrepancies with the Council of Baltimore. The work is nearly completed. Item, the Doctor is preparing an *Index rerum*.

The proofs of the new Edition were nearly ready when Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid February 4, 1886, that Dr. Gabriels would leave New York on Saturday which was two days later.

COURT PRIVILEGE

In the same letter the Archbishop mentioned two priest cases with which Bishop McQuaid was concerned, that of Father Early, one of his own priests, and that of Father James Sullivan, a priest of the Albany Diocese. He was involved in this second case because he had been appointed by Rome to adjudicate it "definitively and without appeal." Miss Edes had heard of the appointment in Rome, without knowing what case it was, and sent Archbishop Corrigan the news. The latter expressed the hope September 26, 1885, that Bishop McQuaid would "be named to take cognizance of many cases." As he informed Bishop McQuaid January 20, 1886, Miss Edes wrote "that no protest had arrived from Mr. O'Sullivan, and that, even if he wrote, no attention would be paid to him." Archbishop Corrigan, however, presumed that she had written also to Bishop McQuaid, "as she intimated she was to see the Cardinal /Prefect of Propaganda/ on the subject." Some days later, February 4, 1886, the Arch-

bishop communicated some more news from Miss Edes to Bishop McQuaid:

The Signorina writes 1. that nothing has been heard in Rome of the Early case nor of the Camillus affair; 2. that your F. O'Sullivan will have a limited time within which he must either withdraw his suit from the Calendar or be suspended.

Bishop McQuaid was determined that priests were not to be permitted to bring their Bishops into civil court, either because of cases against them personally or against churches under their care. Rome seconded his efforts in this respect. Another bit of Roman news was of so delicate a nature that Archbishop Corrigan begged Bishop McQuaid not to speak of it till further notice, informing him February 4, 1886:

I have been directed by Ppgda to urge the division of Albany and to write to the Bp. accordingly: that if he will not do so of his own volition, the H. See will do so for him. He has not answered my letter yet.

Mgr. Nussi has our Prov. Synod in charge. I do not know who he is.

One of the objectives of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore was to make a beginning in the establishment of a Catholic University in the City of Washington. As early as January 26, 1886, Archbishop Corrigan sent word to Bishop McQuaid that "Bp. Keane is here for the University, but will not begin the siege for a few weeks—as he will attack other places first." This meant a drive for funds. Both Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid, but especially the latter, were more interested in other things at this time. Archbishop Corrigan had to plan for the *Pallium* which was expected March 2, 1886, on the steamship *Gallia* and about which he

wrote Bishop McQuaid February 12, 1886:

I am thinking of having the Ceremony on the 4th in order to accomodate the Clergy who cannot attend on Sunday. The margin is short, but we can prudently rely on the Gallia's arriving at latest on the 3rd and there are grave reasons, which I will explain, later, for selecting an early day.

EARLY CASE

Bishop McQuaid was to come to New York the next week. The visit would give plenty of opportunity for intimate confidences and the Archbishop asked Bishop McQuaid to bring with him the documents of the Early case. This priest, after his resignation as Pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Rochester, sued the Society of that Church in the Supreme Court of the State of New York for sums of money and interest which he claimed the Church owed him. Judge Addison Gardiner, sole referee in the case, decided in favor of Father Early, but Bishop McQuaid claimed that the judgment "was unjust and against the testimony produced at the trial." When Father Early, who had been received into the Diocese of Buffalo by Bishop Ryan, later threatened to take drastic action, Archbishop Corrigan intervened, as he informed Bishop McQuaid also in his letter of February 12, 1886, writing:

On February 6th I wrote to Bp. Ryan, ordering that Rev. Mr. Early be inhibited, even under pain of censure; 1. from putting the judgment into execution, 2. from appealing to any but Ecclesiastical tribunals in the premises.

The Bishop has gone to California for his health, but writes from New Orleans, just as he was setting out, that he has "written to Rev. J. Early as you have directed," and hence I request you as soon as convenient to summon the case before your Court for trial and settlement.

A letter from Father Early himself, "asking for a speedy hearing of his claims," did not reach Archbishop Corrigan till Saturday, April 3, 1886. He also included in the letter a request for instructions. The following Monday the Archbishop informed Bishop McQuaid how he replied to Father Early:

I have just written to him . . . that the proceedings will be ruled by the laws laid down in the 3rd Plenary Council, (title 4 de *Judiciis Ecclesiasticis*); that Mgr. Preston, V. G. would act as Judge, and the other officials duly appointed; that if he was quite ready to present his claims against St. Patrick's Society, the Court would be convened April 16, otherwise after Easter as soon as convenient. But that he must observe that the case would be a new trial *ab initio*, and conducted entirely as though no civil suit had been brought.

Father Early informed Archbishop Corrigan that he would not be ready until after Easter, and Bishop McQuaid wrote the Archbishop that he wanted the Reverend James F. O'Hare to be the ecclesiastical advocate for St. Patrick's Church "as one thoroughly cognizant with all the facts, clearheaded and trustworthy." The Archbishop replied April 9, 1886: "I cheerfully approve of Rev. F. O'Hare as *Defensor*." At the same time he expressed his sentiments of approval for the stand taken by Rome against recourse of priests to the Civil Courts in cases of this nature:

I am very glad that the Holy See will act in the O'Sullivan and similar cases, and that you can add to your repertory the decision of the Stack-O'Hara affair.

NATIONALISMS

Meanwhile Rome was concerned with another question about which Archbishop Corrigan had also been consulted. For he informed Bishop McQuaid

March 13, 1886: "I have been busy answering Propaganda with regard to the German Immigration, and have still further observations to send later." The care of souls amongst Catholic German immigrants into the United States later became a matter of bitter controversy. At this time both Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid were more troubled by an Irish question about which the former consulted the latter:

Would you please write out for me the questions which, in your judgment, should be put to the Ancient Order of Hibernians? They have twice sent delegations here, and I have an opportunity of testing their sincerity.

They left documents with Archbishop Corrigan to prove that there was a split in the A. O. H., which he summarized in a postscript of his letter to Bishop McQuaid, March 24, 1886:

A small section still admits the authority of the *Board of Erin* in Europe; but the far larger majority profess to have accepted Bp. Gilmour's advice, and to be ruled by a board of Directors in the United States.

That morning Archbishop Corrigan received a letter from the State Secretary of the A. O. H. which he sent on to Bishop McQuaid whom he asked for advice after explaining:

It was my idea to have the answers printed, or written, and then forwarded to all the Metropolitans, in the hope that some decision could thus *tandem aliquando* be reached.

Bishop Gilmour was also consulted by Archbishop Corrigan who inclosed his reply to the enquiries of the A. O. H. in the letter to Bishop McQuaid of April 5, 1886. The final result of all this was put together

by the Prelates of the New York Province, who met in May and again in August, 1886, for "the right interpretation and application of some of the Decrees of the III Plenary Council of Baltimore, so as to obtain "uniformity of practice throughout the Province." Referring to P. 143, n. 255, they declared:

The "Ancient Order of Hibernians" not to be denied the Sacraments—i. e., that portion of the Order which is no longer affiliated to "The Board of Erin." The twelve Archbishops, who examined the question in conformity with Decree No. 255 of the Council, were so favorably disposed towards them that *ten* of them wished not only to admit them to the Sacraments, but were also willing to give them chaplains. This decision not to be made public, but can be acted on quietly.

Another Society then claimed the attention of Rome itself. For Archbishop Corrigan received a few lines from Propaganda the morning of July 19, 1886, asking for the Ritual of the G. A. R.

That same morning the Archbishop received a few lines from Bishop McNeirney, who was then in Rome. He gave "no news except that they are pushing the Prov. Synod, and that the Ppgda had not yet done anything relative to Syracuse." The Archbishop then added:

They had received the cablegram from the disaffected Priests, but no letter or explanations.

I fancy the whole matter will be canvassed today and that we may have a cablegram announcing the result on July 26th, after the Sunday audience.

We will probably have the Synod next month from Rome and can have our meeting in Troy after the Ecclesiastical Retreat, which will begin August 23rd.—

* * * *

P. S. I forgot to say that Bp. Ryan asked that Dr.

Burtsell's plea for renewing civil judgment be favorably considered, which was declined.

This last would have been a violation of the Court Privilege as it was modified to meet American conditions, for which Bishop McQuaid had zealously gathered cases to make Rome understand the need of enforcing such privilege for the welfare of the Church in the United States. His efforts were seconded by Archbishop Corrigan who was delighted to be able to write Bishop McQuaid September 25, 1886:

We have carried the day on the proper interpretation of the famous *ponenza*. Clerics who hand over their claims to laymen, in order to press them in a civil court, do not thereby escape censure, but on the contrary incur it *ipso facto*, on "acting fraudulently and against the spirit of the law."

I believe I told you I wrote out a *dubium in re* at the suggestion of Bishop Loughlin. Sbarette answered that the Bp. must not give a Priest permission to cite him to a civil court, should the clergyman have the audacity to ask it, (because this is reserved to the Apostolic See) and then referred the other point to Congregation. Miss E. now writes that Sbarette tells her to inform me and begs that I inform you, of the decision given above, viz. that if the Priest transfer his claim to a layman, without the *authorization* of his Bishop, he will fall under the same censures as if he acted in his own person, and "will *de facto* incur suspension *a divinis*." This interpretation will be communicated to us all in due time, but probably not until the Canon returns from his vacation.

CANON LAW

This was not the kind of Canon Law that the malcontents wanted. However, considerable progress had been made through the III Plenary Council of Baltimore in establishing a more definite code of

Canon Law for the Catholic Church in the United States which had outgrown the early pioneer missionary conditions. There still remained the task of adapting locally the new legislation. This was done in part by the Prelates in the Province of New York at their meeting in May and August, 1886. They labored to give "the right interpretation and application of some of the Decrees of the III Plenary Council of Baltimore" in order to obtain particularly "uniformity of practice throughout the Province."

The canonical standing of Priests was raised by providing for the appointment of a certain number of them as Irremovable Rectors who, together with the Consultors, were then authorized to choose candidates for vacant or new sees. All priests, exercising faculties in the Diocese, had a voice in the election of the Consultors. When an irremovable rectorship became vacant, a special concursus was to be held for it, but the irremovable rectors appointed did not thereby become Parish Priests, as Propaganda had written Archbishop Manning December 3, 1866, that "also Missionary Rectors in England were not Parish Priests" and that a contrary decision by Propaganda in 1847 had been based on what had been set forth falsely, and so that decision had been founded on an error. All other priests, except irremovable rectors, were declared removable *ad nutum Episcopi*, who could even make assistants of them, if it seemed good to him to do so. Consequently, their condition was that decreed by the II Plenary Council of Baltimore (Nos. 123-125) previous to the instruction of 1878, which established a Commission of Investigation, composed of three to five priests, to examine into the criminal and disciplinary causes of priests and other clerics. This Commission was then declared abolished, as another

procedure in the trial of ecclesiastics had been prescribed, in which "the defendants, no less than all the other participants, are bound to secrecy." It was left to the Diocesan Synods to settle how the expenses of these ecclesiastical trials were to be met.

It was also left to the Diocesan Synod to deal with other expenses, those of visitations, chancery fees, stole rights, funeral offerings, etc. The Plenary Council of Baltimore had set "a limitation" to collections for the Bishop's personal needs, but the Prelates of the New York Province cited what Ferraris listed under a "charitable subsidy", namely necessary expenses: (1) for the promotion, confirmation, and consecration of the Bishop himself, (2) for paying debts contracted by his predecessor for the common good or needs of the Church, (3) for visiting the thresholds of the Apostles, (4) for journeying to a Council, general or provincial, to the Pope, to the Emperor or King for the common good of the diocese or of the Church Universal, (5) for the advent of Emperor, King, or great prince, especially if the Bishop had *regalia* from him, (6) for defending or recovering rights, actions, and goods of the Cathedral Church or for the common good of the whole diocese. Not all of this citation was applicable to the Catholic Church in a Republic like the United States.

While New York Prelates, following the Fourth Provincial Council of New York, added the Opera to amusements forbidden to the Clergy, they favored a liberal interpretation of the Baltimore decree that admonished the Clergy to keep aloof from politics. They also assigned the same matter for the examinations of the Junior Clergy and the same matter for the Conference throughout the Province. Even

Regulars, acting as rectors or assistants, were obliged to attend these Diocesan Conferences. The Prelates were less strict about Brothers and Sisters, as only those that were Diocesan could be examined by the Diocesan School Board; the others had to be examined by their own Superiors at the request of the Bishop. The Prelates also prohibited the use of any other Catechism than the new Baltimore Catechism, which was also to be used even in non-English speaking congregations as soon as approved translations could be prepared. The Bishops, in fact, claimed to be doing all in their power to meet the wants of the immigrants. If there were any private schools in his mission, the rector had the right to teach Catechism in them, and the Bishops urged him to "do so at least occasionally, if only to assert his right."

The Prelates of the New York Province promulgated additional regulations for confessors of religious, for a five year census in each Diocese, for the reading of the Gospel on Sunday, for the examination and approbation of books and in regard to circulars promising Masses for subscriptions. While the rule, which was not to be made public, but acted on quietly, was issued, directing that Sacraments be not denied to members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, unconnected with the Board of Erin, nothing was then decided about the Knights of Labor. Dr. O'Connell had in fact written Archbishop Corrigan, as the latter informed Bishop McQuaid September 25, 1886:

The Holy See will proceed with extreme caution regarding the Knights of Labor in the United States. You know we are all summoned to Baltimore Oct. 28, i. e. the Archbishops to confer on this and other Suspect

Societies. If you can send me any Rituals or Constitutions for examinations, I will be obliged.

While all this and a few other things were done with the avowed purpose of obtaining uniformity throughout the New York Province, there was another matter sponsored by the III Plenary Council of Baltimore, the project of the Catholic University at Washington, which did not meet with universal approval. This was known at Rome, and September 25, 1886, Archbishop Corrigan received a letter from Propaganda, asking, in the most *confidential manner*, his opinion of the University. Archbishop Corrigan had stolen over to St. Dominic's Monastery in Newark "to make a short retreat of a day, and also to be away, for a purpose, from New York when a certain Italian Monsignor should arrive." There he wrote Bishop McQuaid the next day, October 9, 1886:

Yesterday morning my letter regarding the University was mailed to Card. Simeoni. Your Memorial was very opportune and very valuable.

The line of thought in the letter was this. While the University was very desirable in the abstract, the method employed to effect it was open to grave objection.

I from the *place*—(*Washington*)

1° not a large centre of population.

2° a corrupt, *political* center.

3° a southern city.—

4° title deed imperfect.

5° Another University there already.

6° Washington a poor site for either Medical or legal studies in any case.

II from the *personnel*.

a) Professors too expensive, &c.

b) Students not to be had.

III from the *System* proposed

No regular training, or uniform training in advance; no unity of studies or ideas; impossible in 3 or 4 years to go over the immense field mapped out by the Council & the programme of the Committee.

These points were all more or less developed. E. g. the first argument was illustrated by a schedule, showing a score of cities with larger population and more Catholic Churches than Washington. Then the centres of population, of thrift, and of wealth were shown to lie on the Atlantic seaboard, and in the North, &c.

In conclusion, two other methods were indicated as less expensive, more feasible, more satisfactory, viz.

1° Religious Order.

2° *Board of Examiners* for the whole country like the London University. This would excite a healthy competition, and lead to the survival of the fittest.

The Italian Monsignor, who came that day, was Monsignor Straniero. Archbishop Riordan, who had visited New York for a week towards the end of September, had told "curious stories about Mgr. Chapel, Straniero, & Mori," as Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid. In fact, Archbishop Corrigan himself had received two letters September 25, 1886, from the Prefect of Propaganda *in re* Mori, "one of which, according to private directions, has been given to the Press." However, Monsignor Straniero was received in Monsignor Quinn's house October 9, 1886. The Sunday previous Bishop McNeirney visited the Archbishop whom he left Tuesday afternoon. Archbishop Corrigan then informed Bishop McQuaid that the Bishop of Albany "is still quite lame," adding: "The Aplic Brief for Syracuse will soon come, no doubt." As an afterthought Archbishop Corrigan scribbled at the head of this letter:

Bps. Gilmour and Watterson called a few days ago.

The former promised interesting documents about the A. O. H. and the Board of Erin.

The question of condemned societies could not be settled definitively by the III Plenary Council of Baltimore. The Archbishops therefore were made a standing committee to deal with this question in its various developments in the future.

Meanwhile the new legislation of the Council made necessary Diocesan Synods throughout the United States to execute changes decreed thereby. Archbishop Corrigan held New York's Fifth Diocesan Synod November 17-18, 1886, after which he used the occasion to address a Pastoral Letter to the Faithful in his charge. That part of this letter which prohibited the charge of an entrance fee to the Church for Mass on Sundays and Holidays and also provided a free place in the Church, was printed separately, together with pertinent numbers (288-289) from the Acts and Decrees of the III Plenary Council of Baltimore. The Archbishop therefore informed the people:

Under the head of Ecclesiastical Discipline attention is called to the fact that the Sovereign Pontiff desires that an abuse, which has unfortunately existed in some isolated cases in this country, be utterly done away with—the practice, namely, of charging for admittance to churches on Sundays or other days of obligation. It is true that, where the practice prevailed, the entrance fee also gave a right to a seat, and that it is not more unlawful, other things being equal, to pay for a seat Sunday after Sunday than to pay pew-rent by the quarter or by the year. But it is an incongruity, to say the least, to require attendance at Mass and the payment of money in order to fulfil that necessary duty. Hence, in obedience to the wishes of the Holy Father, it is provided that in every church of this Diocese a certain free space be set apart for the convenience and accomodation of those who do not choose to occupy seats; and it is positively

commanded that the objectionable custom in question, if it exist anywhere in this diocese, be given up forthwith and entirely abolished.

CAHENSLEYISM

While the Prelates of the New York Province had declared that they were doing all in their power to take care of the immigrants, Father Abbelen thought otherwise *in re Germanorum*, submitting a *Ponenza* to that effect to Propaganda. The *Ponenza* was sent to Archbishop Corrigan "from a private and confidential source." He was very busy at the time, "preparing documents for the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Brooklyn in a case now pending at the Propaganda, and so he directed his Secretary, Dr. C. E. McDonnell, to forward the *Ponenza* to Bishop McQuaid, desiring a stronger letter from him on the subject to Propaganda. The Secretary informed Bishop McQuaid December 27, 1886, what the Archbishop was doing in the matter:

His Grace mails a letter today to Cardinal Simeoni, in which he defends the dioceses of the East and *in specie* of the Province against the calumnies and *falsa supposita* of the *Ponenza* and protests against this attempt to *Germanize* the church in this country.

Archbishop Corrigan did not feel sufficiently informed of the conditions in the West and so he asked Bishop McQuaid to say something on that point, as he thought him well informed on the condition of things there. When his letter was written, Bishop McQuaid sent it to the Archbishop who returned it, thanking him January 10, 1887, for "the strong and weighty letter *in re Germanorum*." At the same time the Archbishop complimented Bishop McQuaid, writing:

You are quite a Diplomat in knowing exactly how to touch the susceptibilities of Propaganda. No doubt the letter will do good even though some previous steps may have already been taken in the premises.

Rome also looked for information to Cardinal Gibbons who wrote Archbishop Corrigan that he was to go there "to be consulted on important matters." He thought that one of these matters was also the question of a Nuncio. In reply, Archbishop Corrigan informed Cardinal Gibbons of what he had heard in this matter in regard to Bishop Dwenger of Fort Wayne. When the Archbishop wrote Bishop McQuaid of these things January 10, 1887, he asked him whether he had received any printed notes from Bishops Ireland and Keane, adding: "They seem to be earnest in their work, but I do not know with what success." Finally, the Archbishop stated: "I have written for the Bulls of Syracuse."

MCGLYNN CASE

Trouble with a priest in New York, which Archbishop Corrigan had inherited from Cardinal McCloskey, came to a head soon after the latter's death. Father McGlynn had espoused Henry George's denial of private property in land and his Single Tax as the full rental value of the land to be paid to the State by those whom Dr. McGlynn designated the miscalled owners. The Public Press also reported bad language on the part of Dr. McGlynn in criticism of the Pope. However, after he had been suspended, Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid November 26, 1886:

Dr. McGlynn claims that he never meant nor thought of the Pope in his remarks; that they were the reporter's; that he did not write a word, &c., &c.,—I told him,

(through Dr. Curran) to correct the error in today's *Tribune*; which he has not done—; that he could write to Propaganda by today's steamer; that the censure must stand; He is suspended for the balance of this year. I did not send him to make a Retreat, as he is not in a frame of mind to make a good one. On Wednesday his case will be brought before the Consultors.

Higher authority soon intervened. Propaganda sent a cablegram to Archbishop Corrigan, which was received at New York December 4, 1886, and read: "The alumnus McGlynn shall proceed at once to Rome." Christmas Eve the Archbishop sent Bishop McQuaid news of important developments:

Entre nous, the Doctor has refused to obey Rome and has put on record that he "has taught and will continue to teach, as long as he lives, the doctrine that private property in land is against natural justice, *no matter* by what laws, civil or *ecclesiastical*, it may be sanctioned, and that if he could . . . , he would confiscate all such possessions all the world over, without one cent of compensation to the miscalled owners." I learn by cable that a letter from Propaganda is now on its way, in reply to said refusal and declarations.

That very day Archbishop Corrigan dispatched a letter of sixteen pages to Propaganda *in re McGlynn*. When Propaganda's letter came from Rome, it was directed to Dr. McGlynn, but he refused to call for it when Archbishop Corrigan asked him to do so, and so it was forwarded to his address through one of his friends the night of January 10, 1887, when Archbishop Corrigan described it in a letter to Bishop McQuaid:

It . . . is as sweet as honey,—repeating the invitation to proceed to Rome "as soon as possible." There is only one phrase in the last sentence which is a little stronger, namely, that if he declines, they will be obliged to have recourse to measures which he would regret.

Archbishop Corrigan had to know what were the intentions of Dr. McGlynn before he was free to act, "either to name an Administrator or a Rector." He thought that Bishop McQuaid had seen in the papers that "Father McCready was not true and could not be relied on." When Dr. McGlynn wrote that he would not go to Rome, the Archbishop cabled Cardinal Simeoni; he also asked Bishop McQuaid's advice. For Monsignor Preston strongly advised the appointment of Father Donnelly as Administrator, whereas the Archbishop himself was inclined to appoint Father Colton as permanent Rector whom he described as follows:

A young Priest, but one thoroughly good and loyal . . ., for many years chief assistant at St. Stephens and who is extremely acceptable to the people; who knows all about the ways of the place, who in fact has borne the brunt of the parish work for several years. He has been ordained nearly eleven years and has spent nearly all that time in St. Stephen's. He has none of the Doctor's liberalism. Only two persons know of this project, viz. Mgr. Preston & F. McDonnell, and both consider him the best choice for permanent Rector.—Would it be well to end the *strain* by appointing him at once?

F. Donnelly would meet with much opposition which it might be as well to avoid; although on the other hand, his temporary abode there would ease matters for his successor.

Bishop McQuaid, January 13, 1887, advised the immediate appointment of Father Donnelly as temporary administrator if his health permitted. This was done, but he had "a rough time" at St. Stephen's. However, Archbishop Corrigan believed that it would "open the eyes of many" if Father Donnelly got a chance to make a financial statement of the condition of the Parish. Archbishop Corrigan then wrote Bishop McQuaid January 17, 1887:

Cardinal Simeoni cabled me today to invite the Doctor a third time to Rome and to retract his errors *in scriptis*; that, if he did not comply, I should use the authority vested in my office and act accordingly.

I trust this last appeal, which I make known to him by letter at once, will have a good effect. If not, he signs his own condemnation in advance.

Dr. Smith. O. S. B., has written to Mgr. Preston that Rome will support me and that George's doctrines are at last under examination.

I presume George will pour out all the remaining vials of wrath upon me in this week's *Standard*.

Now that my superiors have spoken, I am very much strengthened & consoled.

The case took a new turn at Rome. Archbishop Jacobini, Secretary of Propaganda, cabled Archbishop Corrigan January 21, 1887: "For prudential reasons the Propaganda has hitherto postponed action in the case of Dr. McGlynn. The Sovereign Pontiff has now taken the matter into his own hands." When this cablegram reached New York, Archbishop Williams of Boston, who then was there, advised Archbishop Corrigan to give the Public Press a well documented statement of the whole case against Dr. McGlynn, beginning with 1882. The Archbishop of New York reported to Bishop McQuaid January 24, 1887:

All the City Press, except the scum, received it very kindly and made favorable editorial notices.

He then informed Bishop McQuaid that he intended that week to assign Father Colton to St. Stephen's Church to be assistant first to its Administrator, Father Donnelly, and then, if he did well, Rector. He declared furthermore:

Meanwhile he can help F. Donnelly much better than any one else, as he is not only loyal, but of all the assist-

ants of St. Stephen's he is the *only one* who knows anything of the financial condition. He alone knows that the debt amounted at one time to \$360,000; and he knows this because he kept the books before the present rebellious Book-keeper relieved him last Summer.

The other disloyal Assistants will also be transferred prudently to other Missions.

F. Donnelly thus far has been able to get absolutely no books and no information regarding the status of the church. No one seems to know anything; or knowing will not tell him.

I am very grateful for all your advice & help.

When the McGlynn faction kept up its agitation, Bishop McQuaid urged Archbishop Corrigan to "send the newspapers to Propaganda, Cardinals Gibbons, Howard, Mazzella, to Persico, Ireland, Keane, to Smith, and such others as you may think of, the more you send, the greater will seem the gravity of the affair." Holy Saturday Archbishop Corrigan replied that the suggestion had been duly carried out by Dr. McDonnell who "also sent quite a number of newspapers last night to various persons abroad and will continue to replenish the foreign mail." However, newspapers were not always correct. When Bishop McQuaid mentioned in a letter that they reported Burtzell suspended and removed from Epiphany, the Archbishop informed him:

Dr. Burtzell was removed from the post of *Defensor Matrimonii*, but not suspended, nor was any censure inflicted on any one. He, however, and several others were distinctly forbidden to attend any more of Dr. McGlynn's lectures.

* * * *

Archbishop Elder wrote yesterday that he had written a very strong letter to Card. Gibbons on the necessity of speedy and vigorous action *in re alumni*, and pro-

posed cabling in the same sense, which I approved.

The rebels are making trouble now through the *Herald* apropos of the testimonial about to be presented by the Clergy.

Bp. Wigger called this week to urge concerted action on the part of the Province. He wanted a declaration against *Georgism*, but I replied that this question was now before the Holy See, and that interference would be indelicate.

Bishop McQuaid had felt that it was time for the New York Clergy to clear themselves from the suspicion of disloyalty. Father H. A. Brann was therefore pleased to be able to inform Bishop McQuaid from Fort Washington April 14, 1887:

On next Sunday an address, gotten up by my neighbor, Father Kessler, and signed by all the German priests of the city, will be presented to the Archbishop. It is strong and thorough.

Another address, much milder however and signed by most of the priests, will be presented to the Archbishop on Monday. So you see your advice has been followed.

Do not fear for the Archbishop. He is thoroughly a man of God and is still what I knew him to be when he was twelve years old—a saint.

He is besides a thorough scholar. I have found him the best canonist I have yet met; and he will lay out the clique of disloyalists—flat. I have written this to you because I know no one who loves the Archbishop as well as you do.

I do not intrude on him. He needs no help; but no one could be more loyal to him than I have been or than I shall always be, no matter what may be the consequences.

There is a very dirty and dishonorable clique at work. They have tried to annoy and intimidate the Archbishop's friends; but they have failed.

Encouraging news was received by Archbishop Corrigan in a cable from Via Mercede in Rome,

promising a final decision in the case of Dr. McGlynn within ten days. The Archbishop was "very glad action will be taken, at length, and all the letters written recently by Bishop McQuaid, Abps. Elder, Ryan and others will strengthen the cause of discipline." He had "no further news of the rebels." The next month, however, important documents reached the Archbishop from Rome, who wrote Bishop McQuaid May 19, 1887:

I have just received an autograph letter from the Holy Father, strongly approving all that has been done *in re alumni*. Item the *Monitorium* from Propaganda, ordering him to repair to Rome within 40 days from date under penalty of the major excommunication to be incurred *ipso facto et nominatim*.

The *monitorium* will be sent to him at once, and the letter of the Holy Father given to the Press on Sunday.

The forty days expired July 2. Even before this date Archbishop Corrigan had been told that Dr. McGlynn publicly announced his intention of not going to Rome. When the Archbishop sent this news to Bishop McQuaid, he added to the end of his letter:

I understand that certain clergymen of this Diocese are taking steps to have me deposed. I would be extremely happy if they succeed, although the method of their action is not agreeable.

The nominal excommunication of Dr. McGlynn did not cut him off from such friends as Dr. Burtzell and others of like character. Bishop McQuaid therefore asked Archbishop Corrigan August 27, 1887: "Can it be possible that Dr. Burtzell invited McGlynn to dine with Moore and others, and that these gentlemen sat down to dinner with this contumacious and excommunicated priest?" The Archbishop replied September 1, 1887:

Dr. Burtzell not only invited McGlynn to dine with him, but the other guests, Bishop Moore included, made no remark in the premises—"hoping to soften the Doctor by their kindness." He answered (the Abp. of Philadelphia tells me, who had it from Bp. Moore) that when the Pope would reform "the machine", i. e. his Court & Cardinals &c.,—he might *not* ask him to go to Rome, but send him word to this effect, and he would then begin to think of reconciliation."

Entre nous, I have submitted the facts to Rome. But what will come of it?

I have no jurisdiction over Bp. Moore. Burtzell and Co. would only laugh in my face, or tell me to study my theology and learn that civil intercourse with excommunicates is no longer forbidden. So Lehmkuhl.

I understand that this clique is only awaiting an opportunity of going to Rome against me,—i. e. they will provoke suspension in order to fight and appeal.

When Dr. McGlynn came to Rochester to speak for the *United Labor Party*, with which Mr. George was also identified, in the campaign for the November elections, Bishop McQuaid denounced Dr. McGlynn's waywardness, his base ingratitude to his benefactors in the Church, his vile attack on Catholic education and Catholic charity in the *North American Review*, his preaching of wholesale robbery under pretense of helping poor labor. Bishop McQuaid spoke plainly because he thought: "There is danger lest some might think there is nothing for authority to condemn." As soon as Archbishop Corrigan saw in the *Herald* of October 4, 1887, that Bishop McQuaid had counselled vigorous action *in re McGlynn*, he wrote to the latter:

Would you advise me to act summarily with the rebels?

I have been thinking of making the attendance at

McGlynn meetings a reserved case, but thought better to postpone this until after the election.

* * * *

The *Procurator fiscalis*, Rev. J. H. McGean, has been instructed to cite Rev. Messrs. Nilan and Burtzell to court, unless they can explain away their objectionable utterances on the Land Theory and the power of the Holy Father. Nilan openly advocated Georgism recently according to the newspapers,—and Dr. Burtzell is reported by Henry George as saying that the Pope had no more right to summon McGlynn to Rome than to summon any layman thither.

How much anxiety and uncertainty would be avoided if the doctrine of Henry George were authoritatively put on the *Index*! Then he could no longer continue to quote Irish Bishops as sustaining his nonsense.

Bishop McQuaid had, in fact, written Archbishop Corrigan January 22, 1887:

Cardinal Manning and Bishop Nulty are responsible for much of George's influence. Weakness and good intentions on the part of public men lead to trouble. Many of our people have been led astray by the use of their names.

A statement by Bishop Nulty of Meath, Ireland, was widely circulated in England and Ireland, later also in the United States. As soon as he learned that this was being done, Bishop Nulty published "an emphatic protest against an unfair as well as unauthorized use made of an extract" from one of his writings. While he made this protest, he declared in a letter to the Editor of the *Dublin Freeman* December 31, 1881:

I do not, however, mean to retract or qualify, in the slightest, the statement I make in that extract as taken in the context in which it stands where I quote the very words of Mr. Mill and of dozens of other political eco-

nomists who held "that the land of a country ought of right to belong to the people of that country."

What I do complain of in this placard is:—

1st. That a solitary, isolated sentence is very liable to be misinterpreted, and may give rise to grave misconception, when detached from the context in which it stood, and by which its meaning was clearly fixed and defined.

2nd. That,—although the extract is taken from an essay which I published on the Land Question before the passage of the Land Act,—the placard leads one to believe that it has been taken from a letter published quite recently.

3rd. That a *facsimile* of my signature is attached to this extract without my knowledge as if I had sanctioned and approved of a course of action which I entirely disclaim.

Nevertheless, the Land League of Monroe County and adjoining counties, January 6, 1882, endorsed the resolutions and address of the previous Chicago Convention, not only calling the attention of their friends to "the accompanying copy of the original No Rent Manifesto," but also "to the letter of Dr. Nulty, the patriotic Bishop of Meath, which covers the whole ground of land agitation and will repay perusal." This was all the more culpable because of the action that Bishop Nulty had taken upon learning that a "special cable" of his interview to Henry George in the *New York Irish World* reported that this prelate "found nothing to condemn in the Kilmainham Manifesto," as there was "nothing immoral in the refusal of the Irish people to pay rent to jailors of Ireland until their leaders are released from prison." When this and other alleged statements were telegraphed to the *London Standard*, Bishop Nulty wrote November 16, 1881:

To contradict what that telegram *insinuates* rather

than states directly, I beg to say that I never asserted *then*, nor indeed in my whole life, that landlords were not fully and justly entitled to a fair rent for the use of their lands; and to add that I expressed no opinion at all on the publication of the late Manifesto.

At the end of the next month, however, he emphatically declared that he entirely disclaimed the course of action which the unfair and unauthorized use of the passage from his former essay on the Land Question and the appended facsimile of his signature were intended to represent him as sanctioning and approving. In New York Dr. McGlynn strongly supported this phase of the Irish movement that Irish Bishops repudiated.

McGlynn's prominence in the agitation of the Irish Land Question in America had made him a friend of Michael Davitt, the founder of the Land League in Ireland. In fact, the latter confessed to the Very Reverend Prior Glynn, who was taking up subscriptions towards St. Patrick's National Church of the Irish in Rome, that in his last lecture during his tour of the United States in 1886-1887:

I made some strictures, couched in very strong language, upon Cardinal Simeoni in connection with what I then fully believed to be his Eminence's hostility to the Land League cause in 1882 and to the part which I believed he had taken in the case of my friend, the Rev. Dr. McGlynn. I now learn, both from his Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin, and from yourself that my observations were as unjust as they must consequently have been disrespectful, and I am heartily sorry for having uttered them. I now learn both from his Grace and from other sources that my strictures were, in truth, unfounded and that Cardinal Simeoni is and has been a warm sympathizer with the Irish cause. This knowledge lends additional culpability to the heated words which I spoke in New York; and I will thank you if, on your return to Rome, you will express to

Cardinal Simeoni my profound regret for having used such language.

Michael Davitt spoke the words in question at a monster mass meeting of farewell in Madison Square Garden Sunday Evening, January 23, 1887. The apology for his attack on the Prefect of Propaganda did not mean that Michael Davitt had deserted the cause of his friend, the Reverend Dr. McGlynn, with whose circle of adherents in the clergy and laity he had identified himself. These malcontents used him abroad in their campaign for McGlynn against Archbishop Corrigan, as is evident from the letter Michael Davitt wrote Archbishop Walsh of Dublin November 4, 1887:

I enclose the documents which I have been asked to bring to your Grace's notice. To the statements from the Rev. Dr. Burtzell I add some facts which are not included in his letter to Dr. Moore, but which are necessary to a full presentation of Dr. McGlynn's case. These facts were gathered by me from interviews with representative priests and laymen during my recent visit to New York.

I do not like *writing* the other facts about which I even felt a reluctance to talk with your Grace today; but they will come out, I fear, before very long if Dr. McGlynn's friends among the priesthood in New York are compelled by Archbishop Corrigan's persecution of them (for their refusal to sign the circular calling for Dr. McGlynn's punishment) to strike back in self defence.

I have no hesitation in saying that, if all that was told me by *venerable and most exemplary priests* in New York is ever published to the American world, it will give a set-back to the Catholic Church in the United States.

These priests and many influential laymen, with whom I have had interviews in New York, appeal to your Grace and Cardinal Manning to avert this calamity by bringing pressure to bear upon Rome to grant Dr.

McGlynn a patient hearing and to curb the high-handed proceedings of Archbishop Corrigan.

There was no circular to sign, "calling for Dr. McGlynn's punishment," but two addresses, one from the German priests bearing fifty-five signatures, and another address signed by three hundred fifty-seven other priests of the Archdiocese. Both addresses condemned the waywardness of Dr. McGlynn lest silence on their part might be "construed into acquiescence and approval" of his course of action. Here a great Irish Patriot had allowed himself to be captured by New York malcontents in favor of Dr. McGlynn from whose fundamental doctrine, identical with that of Henry George, he himself was known to differ.

Dr. McGlynn had also claimed the authority of Cardinal Manning for the land doctrine which he shared with Henry George, declaring that the Cardinal "informed Mr. George that he saw nothing in his views to condemn" and that those condemning them as "morally and theologically wrong . . . were unauthorized and incompetent critics." As Dr. McGlynn's report of the Cardinal's words were challenged, Mr. T. B. Preston of Brooklyn wrote Cardinal Manning November 9, 1886, on the subject of his conversation with Mr. Henry George some months before. The Cardinal replied December 1, 1886:

Thinking that, between Mr. George and myself, there might not be a common ground on which to meet, I began saying: Before we go further, let me know whether we are in agreement upon one vital principle. I believe that the law of property is founded on the law of nature, that it is sanctioned in revelation, declared in Christian law, taught by the Catholic Church, and incorporated in the civilization of all nations. Therefore,

unless we are in agreement upon this, which lies at the foundation of society, I am afraid we cannot approach each other.

This went straight to the root of the matter, and it is hard to see how Mr. George could have failed to enlighten Cardinal Manning's mind at once on the fundamental, vital principle of his teaching, the denial of the right of private property in land. He did not do so. For Cardinal Manning continued his letter to Mr. Preston, adding:

I understood Mr. George to say that he did not deny this principle; that his contention is mainly, if not only, on the intolerable evils resulting from an exaggeration of the law of property. I understood him to mean the old dictum, *summum jus summa injuria*. He added that the present separation and opposition of the rich and poor were perilous to society, and that he saw no remedy for them but in the examples and teachings of Christ. He spoke fully and reverently upon this subject.

Cardinal Manning certainly did not understand George's land doctrine correctly from this conversation with him. That teaching was intended to do away, not only with abuses of property, but with private property itself in land. Inasmuch as the Cardinal's authority was also claimed in support of Henry George's books, he also declared in this letter:

I have no distinct recollection of the mention of his books, but, as it has been stated in America that I gave an opinion to the effect that, in his book, meaning his original work on "*Progress and Poverty*," I saw no unsound propositions, I have to state that I never read the book. I have, however, read certain chapters in his later work, "*Social Problems*", and in those chapters I did not see anything to censure as unsound.

Thus Cardinal Manning confessed that he had not

even read *Progress and Poverty*. Moreover, he failed to specify what were the "certain chapters" he had read in *Social Problems*. At all events, this letter made it impossible honestly to cite the authority of Cardinal Manning's name for the abolition of private property in land either in principle or in fact, as Henry George and Dr. McGlynn wished it.

When Archbishop Walsh of Dublin read the text of this letter to the *Brooklyn Review* in his copy of the *Freeman's Journal* of December 28, 1886, he wrote Cardinal Manning a letter that has some very peculiar twists in it. Referring to the Cardinal's mention of Henry George's views, he wrote:

This reminds me of a question you put to me some time ago in reference to a statement I made in an "interview", in which I said I was for the nationalization of land here, but in Michael Davitt's view. The appearance of your letter today reminds me that I have not yet answered the question.

The difference between the two is, (or was), that George, taking it as a fundamental principle that there can be no private property in land, would transfer the land from the present owners to the State, *giving them no compensation*, but Davitt, while relying on many considerations to show that the present owners (in Ireland, remember) have claim but to a small share in the property, fully recognizes that property of theirs and *would make compensation to them for it*. The difference is manifestly one of fundamental principle.

The difference was precisely the difference between justice and injustice. Of course, the viewpoint was also different in Ireland for Archbishop Walsh from the viewpoint in the United States for Archbishop Corrigan. In Ireland it was a question of seeking a solution to the land problem that would do justice to the landlord created by the English conquest of Ireland and the Irish tenant, the orig-

inal owner of the land, who besides had substantially improved it. Here the nationalization of the land through just indemnity to the landlord would be a rightful step towards the restitution of the land to the original owner. This was Davitt's, not George's plan for the nationalization of land in Ireland. Nevertheless, George's books had their influence on the mind of Archbishop Walsh, as he confessed in this same letter to Cardinal Manning:

As regards George's views, I must say that, since I read this book, *Progress and Poverty* several years ago, I have felt convinced that the nationalization of the land will infallibly be a point of practical politics before very long. The sooner it is carried out, the less revolutionary the measure will be as regards respect-fully for the rights of the present private owners.

In the *Social Problems* I don't think George explicitly denies the right of private property in land. Nothing could be more explicit than his denial of it in *Progress and Poverty*. *Progress and Poverty*, at least in those chapters that deal with the nationalization question, is a singularly interesting as well as ably written book. I wish your Eminence could take out time to read it, or to read so much of it. It is very plain, very painfully so indeed, that the Archbishop of New York, whose pastoral condemns it so strongly, cannot have read it at all.

Archbishop Corrigan's Pastoral, issued November 19, 1886, did not condemn George's book on *Progress and Poverty*, but errors on the right of property, particularly of private property in land, so that the faithful might "not be led by abuses, however flagrant, or by theories, however specious, to run the risk of embracing falsehood for truth." He was not preoccupied, as Archbishop Walsh was, with a scheme for the nationalization of land in Ireland, for which the latter sought to modify the Single Tax, the expedient thought out by Henry George to elim-

inate in fact private property in land, the right to which he denied in theory. Archbishop Walsh saw objections to this that he indicated in his letter to Cardinal Manning:

In the *Social Problems* George advocates the imposition of a land tax so as, (either at once or gradually), to absorb *all the rent* and in this way to make the rent available for the general purposes of the State.

This plainly contemplates a transfer without compensation, practically a confiscation. Is not this going very far? I put this question in reference to the justice of the transaction.

It was precisely because this teaching of Henry George violated justice by assailing "the right of private property which is sanctioned by natural law," as Leo XIII declared in his Encyclical *Quod Apostolici muneris*, that Archbishop Corrigan was moved in part to publish his Pastoral, citing abundantly from this Encyclical and exhorting the faithful to "give no ear to those, whoever they may be, who preach a different Gospel." Even from the point of view of political economy, Archbishop Walsh found an objection to this teaching of Henry George. Although he confessed to Cardinal Manning: "I know nothing of political economy," he added nevertheless:

I understand that it is a maxim of that science that taxation should not be thrown exclusively on any kind of property, but should be fairly distributed over all. If this be so, the way in which he puts his plan forward in the later book seems open to serious objection.

Here it occurred to Archbishop Walsh that Henry George, in his former book, *Progress and Poverty*, referred to the old land tax in England, which, if paid now, would make the State independent of all other taxation. Nevertheless, Archbishop Walsh

thought that Henry George made a mistake in using the term *tax*. He therefore informed Cardinal Manning that he would put the matter thus:

Let us suppose the ownership of all the land in the country transferred to the State, then the land is rented by the tenants from the State which thus receives not a land *tax*, but simply the value of its property—which it holds for the nation, but which, as a practical means of turning that property into money, it has so rented out to a certain number of individuals, the landowners or farmers.

This being so, the rest of the community, and with them *the landowners, are free of taxation*. No taxes need to be paid at all. The State is rich enough to do its work out of the proceeds of its own property. Indeed, as is evident, millions would remain over for the expenditures on purposes of public or general utility.

In Dublin our Corporation is the owner of a certain amount of house-property. The house-holders pay rent to the Corporation. *This is not a tax*. Let us suppose that the Corporation owned the houses of one half of Dublin. They would then have, out of their house rents, more than enough to bear all municipal charges. The inhabitants of those houses could not complain that all the city taxation was thrown upon them. There would be no city taxes at all. Nor could they claim that their house rents should be reduced so that no balance should remain over for the general expenditure. They should pay the full value of the property they held from the city, leaving for the benefit of the city whatever balance might remain over and above. They of course would share in the benefits of that expenditure in common with their fellow-citizens.

Now in the “nationalization” scheme the position of the landowners—*all the landowners*—would correspond with that of the householders of Corporation houses in my illustration. They could not complain that no one else was called upon to pay anything into the public treasury; for no one else would hold any property from the public. Those who hold any should pay for what they hold and pay for it at its full value.

Whatever advantage is in this way of putting the case is lost when it is put on the ground of "taxation."

Despite this specious adaptation of Henry George's Single Tax to an Utopian scheme of land nationalization in Ireland, Archbishop Walsh had to conclude by confessing to Cardinal Manning that he could "not see that the absorption of the rent in the form of a land tax is free from the objection (on the score of injustice) to the simple transfer of the ownership from the private owners to the State." However, when Archbishop Corrigan pointed out this injustice to his Diocesans at the same time that he also condemned errors against the right of property in general, Archbishop Walsh claimed in writing Cardinal Manning again January 7, 1887:

The mistake made by the Archbishop in his Pastoral was in ascribing to George the doctrine denying the right of property, as if George held that no ownership (in anything) could exist. I do not think it possible that any one who had read *Progress and Poverty* could have made such a mistake, or, as regards the reasoning of the case, could have failed to see the irrelevancy of the arguments on which his Grace relies. But I wrote at such length on all this matter in my last letter to your Eminence I must say no more about it now.

Archbishop Corrigan never attributed such teaching as the denial of all ownership in anything to Henry George who was not even mentioned by name in the Pastoral. Archbishop Walsh's criticism again erroneously assumed that the Pastoral was solely concerned with Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, whereas it was much more general in scope, defending the right of property in general as well as the right of property in land along the lines of Catholic thought laid down in Leo XIII's Encycli-

cal. Archbishop Walsh's letter of January 7 had been occasioned by a letter written him by Archbishop Corrigan, which he inclosed in that letter to Cardinal Manning with the remark: "What he mentions about Dr. McGlynn's case is very sad."

The Archbishop of New York had also written directly to Cardinal Manning November 30, 1886, because both Mr. Henry George and Dr. McGlynn claimed the authority of the Cardinal's name for their teaching against private property in land. Referring to the Pastoral in which he felt it to be his "duty to say something on the subject," he suggested to Cardinal Manning "that it would help the cause of religion if you could find time and would think proper to send me a few words with permission to publish." By the time the Cardinal received this communication, he had already sent his letter to Mr. Preston of Brooklyn with his profession of belief "that the right of property is founded on the law of nature, that it is sanctioned in revelation, declared in Christian law, taught by the Catholic Church, and incorporated in the civilization of all nations." Here Cardinal Manning wrote of the right of property without explicitly specifying property in land. However, January 8, 1887, the *London Weekly Register* printed what Cardinal Manning said to the English representative of the *New York World*:

I saw in a telegram some time ago that Mr. George had said the Catholic Church had never confirmed the principle of property in land. St. Peter told Ananias that his land before he sold it, was in his power as well as the money coming from the sale. The whole history of the Church and the patrimony of St. Peter make it sufficiently evident that the Church holds and teaches the law of property in land.

Nevertheless, the services of Cardinal Manning were enlisted that same year of 1887 to prevent "examinations and condemnations that were utterly unnecessary, that would broaden the case of the disobedient and cranky priest into a question that would be regarded as a Papal intervention in American affairs similar to the one that is now so seriously threatening the union of the Catholics in Germany." Bishop Keane, who wrote this, therefore, requested Cardinal Manning February 10, 1887:

If your Eminence agrees in the view we take, you would do a great service to the Church by begging the Holy Father not to order or permit any overt discussion of the American social questions at present, both because the action of the Holy See could hardly fail to be odious to the whole American public and to split up Catholic unity. Things can be safely left to right themselves in our political machine—doctrinal decisions would not help the work.

Cardinal Gibbons also wrote to the English prelate: after having addressed a letter to Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda. He declared: "I felt it my duty to urge the Congregation of the Index not to condemn Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*." Cardinal Manning, who belonged to the Congregation of the Index, replied so as to cause the American prelate to write March 4, 1887: "Your esteemed and valued favor is received in which your Eminence is graciously pleased to assent to the views submitted to the Propaganda regarding Henry George." Both Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Keane were careful not to reveal what they had actually done at Rome in the explanations they later made for public consumption. They represented themselves merely as the channels used to transmit messages which they claimed were distorted into sympathy for Dr.

McGlynn and his cause. However, Bishop McQuaid, who knew better, wrote Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland June 28, 1887:

I feel vexed that Gibbons, Keane, and Ireland get out of their scrape so quietly. They gave McGlynn a boost in the beginning when he most needed it. We have not yet heard the end of this affair. There will be more vexation of spirit before it is all over.

Not only Bishop Keane, but also Archbishop Ireland had sent word to Dr. McGlynn from Rome:

There is no condemnation; the matter has not even been inquired into. Do your duty as a priest and obey the summons. All will be right then.

This was done to correct the belief that Dr. McGlynn had already been condemned and was summoned only to be disciplined, which was made responsible for his refusal to obey. Cardinal Gibbons explained that, shortly after his arrival at Rome in February, the Holy Father requested him to ask Dr. McGlynn to come there. He did not know the latter's address, and so he wrote Dr. Burtzell, a friend of Dr. McGlynn. Some weeks later he received Dr. Burtzell's reply with Dr. McGlynn's reasons for his refusal to go to Rome, which he promptly communicated to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Simeoni. Elsewhere efforts were still made not merely to sustain Dr. McGlynn, but the teaching which he shared with Henry George in the denial of private property in land. Archbishop Corrigan thus informed Bishop McQuaid to whom he wrote October 13, 1887:

A periodical, conducted apparently by Irish Jesuits, takes up the cudgels for Henry George, namely *The Lyceum* published monthly in Dublin. In the October

number it pays its respects to me, without mentioning my name, and insists that the right of private property is not from the Law of Nature, but from positive legislation merely, and consequently may be forbidden by it.

I intend to send the Article to Rome and test the case.

In the United States Dr. McGlynn tried to answer, October 20, 1887, Bishop McQuaid's attack upon himself during another visit to Rochester in the political campaign. It brought a crushing rejoinder from Bishop McQuaid who read it in part from a manuscript in his Cathedral pulpit the following Sunday. Archbishop Corrigan, writing November 2, 1887, "was very glad to notice that Mr. Feely and his companions have found out that discretion is the better part of valor and that they wisely abstained from attempting to answer your denunciation." The Bishop remarked November 6, 1887:

It was about time for some one to give the traitors to understand that they were not to have all the fun to themselves. Moore, Burtzell, Nilan, Malone, Reilly of Schenectady, and others were conveying, to the minds of ignorant people, the impression that you had done wrong and that the Doctor was the victim. The clique will be more cautious in the future.

In New York City Archbishop Corrigan was not so sure about this. He felt the need of definitive action by the Apostolic See, as he confessed in his letter to Bishop McQuaid, November 13, 1887:

I hardly know what can be done now, in the premises, except to urge the putting of H. George's books on the *Index*. A certain number of priests still maintain and propagate these theories and give absolution to the rebels and to those who attend the Anti-Poverty meetings.

I have recently written to the Holy See, asking that the book in question be submitted for *examination* to the S. C. of the Index.

Dr. Burtzell has not sent any answer thus far to Mgr. Preston's decision.

I have written to Salford announcing the projected lecturing tour in England and forwarding the *Herald* of Nov. 9, and its refutation in this week's *Freeman*, entitled "St. Gregory the Great, a disciple of Henry George." Bishop Vaughan, being forewarned will be forearmed and through the *Tablet* can put Catholics generally, on their guard, if he thinks proper.

Archbishop Corrigan then asked Bishop McQuaid to inquire into the validity of his suspension of McGlynn the previous year "without a judicial process." The opposition maintained that he had "violated the 3rd. Pl. Council and the Papal Constitution "*Cum magnopere*." Although Bishop McQuaid replied November 20, 1887: "Strictly speaking, you should have gone through the formality of a trial before punishing," he did not think that the Archbishop needed to trouble himself about this case, as its urgency called for immediate action. When Archbishop Corrigan thanked the Bishop for his judgment in the matter November 25, 1887, he also wrote him of an "amusing incident" that occurred at the dinner following the dedication of St. John's Church the previous day, "namely, the proposal of my health by certain parties who would hardly have done so before the recent election." The George vote in New York City fell from 68,110 of the previous year to 37,316. Writing of these "certain parties," Archbishop Corrigan remarked: "Some of these gentlemen have completely veered around since the catastrophe to the Henry George Party, and now one would suppose they always had been most loyal to ecclesiastical authority." It did not, however, stop plotting in favor of McGlynn, as the Archbishop informed Bishop McQuaid November 22,

1887: "Bp. Moore was in town last week, at the Epiphany, and supposed to be acting in concert with Dr. Burtzell, and consulting with him how to push matters in favor of Messrs. Early & McGlynn." This was a postscript to a letter in which Archbishop Corrigan inclosed a copy of a letter that was sent to Archbishop Elder in the matter of Henry George's books. The Archbishop consulted Bishop McQuaid about the whole affair, writing:

I do not know if it be necessary or advisable to push the matter of presenting the books of Henry George to the Congregation of the Index. But, at all events, there is no harm in asking your advice in the premises and suggesting that, if you think proper, a line might be addressed by you either to Cardinal Simeoni directly or to the Cardinal Prefect of the Index. Abbot Smith urges me to have all the Bishops of the Province act in this matter, but this seems to me unnecessary, and more than that, I fear that some of them would not care to take any active measures.

A few days ago the Reverend Doctor Burtzell informed Monsignor Preston that his client, the Reverend James M. Early, appealed from the decision recently given in his case and has asked that copies of certain documents be given him for transmission to Rome.

The decision required Early, "as a preliminary to entering the case before an ecclesiastical court, to remove it from the civil courts where it now is." Dr. Burtzell, Early's advocate, also belonged to the McGlynn faction or clique which identified itself with the Henry George movement. It was with the teaching of this movement that Archbishop Corrigan was concerned in his projected letter to Archbishop Elder, to whom he wrote November 22, 1887:

Two letters have been received by clergymen in this diocese relating to the books of Henry George. One was from Cardinal Mazzella to Father Dealy, S.J., recom-

mending that other bishops besides myself should write to the Holy See in relation to this subject. The second letter was from Abbot Smith to Monsignor Preston, in which a similar recommendation and suggestion was made. The Abbot recommends that the letters in question be addressed to Cardinal Martinelli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Index. He adds that there is and can be no question that the doctrines of Mr. George deserve condemnation in a theological point of view, but that many Bishops oppose any condemnation on the grounds of *inopportunity* or for reasons of practical prudence.

While I do not presume to question the superior wisdom of older and more experienced prelates, I take the liberty of suggesting that, not being on the spot, they are not so familiar as we here with the gravity of the situation or the amount of evil that is being done both to the clergy and the laity by the false impression that Henry George's doctrines may be taught without loss of faith. In point of fact, many young priests particularly make this very plea that, as long as Rome will not speak in the premises, they are free to make their own consciences and to accept the doctrines in question if they feel so disposed. They quote the old principle: *In dubiis libertas*.

On the other hand, George certainly does not deserve much consideration from the Church. He has persistently slandered its highest authorities and misrepresented its doctrines. He has traded upon the bigotry and prejudices of the Protestant people, and by means both of Catholic friends and Protestant ignorance, he has pushed the circulation of his books so far that the newspapers say he has realized from that source one hundred thousand dollars.

The Right Reverend Bishop of Vincennes, if I am not mistaken, can tell Your Grace of the opinion entertained at Rome of the land theory of Mr. George. For myself, I have already written a letter to the Holy Father begging him to have the kindness to hand over the books of Henry George to the Congregation of the Index for *examination*. Of course, even though they may be objectionable in point of doctrine, it does not follow that

the Sacred Congregation may find expedient to put them on the Index.

I therefore leave it to your better judgment whether it be prudent or not, or advisable to write to Cardinal Martinelli on this subject. I would suggest to you that, in case you or any of the other Bishops of the Province of Cincinnati think it proper to write, you will have the kindness to suppress the mention of my name, as after I have written to the Holy Father himself, it would hardly be respectful that I should in any way be supposed to request or urge the writing to his subordinate.

A month later Archbishop Corrigan understood, as he wrote Bishop McQuaid December 29, 1887, "that Propaganda is occupying itself with the doings of Bp. Moore and Dr. Burtzell, but with so much secrecy and so many precautions that a long time may elapse before any result can be known." In fact, Bishop McQuaid reported to Archbishop Corrigan "a curious story," coming from the Diocese of Buffalo, that "Burtzell is going to Rome to plead Early's case *ab initio*." The Bishop had an idea that "perhaps Burtzell is summoned to Rome to defend himself and others implicated in the McGlynn case." Archbishop Corrigan replied January 6, 1888:

I have not heard anything of Dr. Burtzell's going abroad, and he would, if possible, tell every one else of his movements before the authorities of the Diocese. If there be any truth in the rumor, it must be, I imagine, in the sense in which you explain it.

A few days ago I had a letter from Abp. Ryan, written on board the *Servia*. In it he says incidentally that Bp. Ryan is my "friend in the McGlynn controversy and a man on whom one may rely." You must "hold the fort," he continues, at every risk.

Some days later Bishop McQuaid outlined the policy which he thought advisable for the Archbishop to pursue in case Dr. Burtzell "asked permission to go

to Rome, not having been called thereto by Rome," writing Archbishop Corrigan January 9, 1888: "Say yes, provided Rome wishes it." He then directed the Archbishop to tell Burtzell as he himself told Lambert: "Write, therefore, to Rome, giving your reasons why you wish to go, and if Rome decides that they are valid, it will give me pleasure, etc." The Archbishop replied January 12, 1888:

Not a word has been breathed thus far here with regard to Dr. Burtzell's visit to Rome. Should he apply, I will follow the line of action which you suggest.

I wrote to Dr. Burtzell about a month ago, ordering him to submit his book to censorship before any more copies be distributed. He answered that the book was not on sale, and that all the copies had already been distributed; that he never dreamed of the need of any *Imprimatur* for a pamphlet already published in a Cath. paper and criticized favorably, &c. On Dec. 18, I enclosed copies of our correspondence, with remarks and explanations, to Dr. McDonnell, and meanwhile asked Dr. Gabriels to draw up a Report of the book; which has not yet been submitted to me.

I have no late letters from the Via Mercede, and Dr. McDonnell thus far has had no opportunity of getting any satisfactory information from Propaganda.

Dr. Burtzell had published a series of articles in the *New York Tablet* of 1887 on *The Canonical Status of Priests in the United States*. They had the same animus as the anonymous volume published in 1883, *The Rights of the Clergy Vindicated, or, A Plea for Canon Law in the United States by A Roman Catholic Priest*. Burtzell's articles were avowedly written to promote "Obedience to properly framed laws," and to end "submission to caprice and whim, or merely personal standards of propriety." When they were re-issued in pamphlet form, a pink slip was inserted, advising the receiver, if he will

send one dollar to Rev. R. L. Burtzell, D.D., P. O. Box 2535, New York, that "he will use it to aid priests, who are deprived of the exercise of the ministry to regain it in accordance with the laws of the Church." When the *New York Freeman's Journal* published the criticism by a *Reader of Canon Law*, proving the suggestion of falsehood and the suppression of truth in Dr. Burtzell's tract, it took the liberty to say January 28, 1888, "that it shows a spirit of bitterness, of insubordination, of disloyalty to authority, which must fill any well-instructed layman with regret."

The information that the Archbishop was seeking from Propaganda through his own priest, Dr. McDonnell, then in Rome, finally came to him from the Congregation itself. Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda, wrote directly to him February 18, 1888:

The McGlynn question has been submitted anew to the judgment of this Sacred Congregation in consequence of certain documents presented by Monsignor Moore, Bishop of St. Augustine.

The Most Eminent Fathers have decided to address to Bishop Moore a letter of which I present you a summary, in accordance also with the resolutions of this Sacred Congregation.

After having taken cognizance of the explanation furnished by Monsignor Moore with regard to his intentions in being present at the dinner held in Burtzell's house, at which McGlynn also assisted, they express to him their grief in learning that he considers the conduct pursued by this Sacred Congregation as having little weight and as based upon mere newspaper reports. They ask him to reflect that the Propaganda came to the decisions reached with regard to McGlynn on the strength of incontestable documents, after a long and patient waiting, and after having employed every means that the wisdom and prudence of the Holy See suggested in the case. With this view, a brief history of the action

of this Sacred Congregation in the premises was given, from which it is made manifest that Propaganda punished the disobedience of McGlynn to the orders of the Holy Father without entering into the merits of the case. Finally, they conclude that they are still disposed to use mercy, should McGlynn recur to the indulgence of the Holy See.

Your Lordship must already know that the Most Eminent Cardinal Gibbons wrote a letter by order of the Holy Father to induce McGlynn to wiser counsels. This letter was addressed to Reverend Mr. Burtzell. Burtzell replied by a letter in which, as far as appears, there was sign of some disposition on the part of McGlynn to go to Rome; but this letter, unfortunately, was not manifested to this Sacred Congregation. Now should such good dispositions really still exist, Propaganda would not be disposed to exclude the petition that McGlynn might perhaps make to it in order to obtain the benefit of a new trial.

In this case, the request would be considered, not as an appeal, but as a mere petition for the revision of his case, to be granted only in the way of a favor and on the following conditions:

First.—That McGlynn himself make the request and set forth his grievances.

Secondly.—That he publicly condemn all that he has said and done of an insulting character against the Archbishop and against the Holy See.

Thirdly.—That he be ready "*Stare mandatis et judicio Apostolicæ Sedis.*"

Fourthly.—That he promise to abstain from all publications or intervention in any meeting on the matter under consideration.

Before taking any step, however, the Sacred Congregation wishes to know your wise opinion on this whole project.

For the rest, I intimate to you that the Holy See is actually engaged in the examination of the doctrines of McGlynn and of Henry George, and in this matter I will write again as soon as any decision shall have been reached.

With regard to those priests who show themselves

insubordinate and who are in any way compromised in the McGlynn affair, it is the mind of the Most Eminent Fathers that you summon all these and, in the name of the Sacred Congregation, give them a most serious warning, declaring to them that it is the decided wish of the Holy See that priests should not mix themselves up in this matter. You are to impose silence on them and forbid the clergy making any public utterances in the premises or assisting at the meetings without your express permission.

Bishop McQuaid found the news from Rome satisfactory; he hastened to assure Archbishop Corrigan the next day that his "affairs will all come out right in time." While Burtzell's pamphlet might "well startle them in Rome," Bishop McQuaid declared Rome itself responsible for the mischief, writing with all frankness:

When Rome encouraged every malcontent, no matter how unworthy, is it any wonder that Bishops were snubbed and defied? Rome regarded us as despots, ignorant of Canon Law, whimsical, etc., etc., while all virtues were found in the oppressed clergy.

After the receipt of the Propaganda instruction, Archbishop Corrigan began promptly to act, as he informed Bishop McQuaid March 6, 1888. For that morning he had summoned Dr. Burtzell and informed him of the wishes of the Sacred Congregation. Dr. Burtzell considered them a "very easy thing to comply with." Messrs. Ducey, Meister, and others were to come later. Meanwhile the Archbishop pointedly remarked in this letter:

It is curious that Ppgda so readily accepted the intervention of Mgr. Moore. To me it seems like intermeddling but Divine Providence has brought good out of evil.

This same year Burtzell's conduct again became offensive. John McGuire had died suddenly at a McGlynn Anti-Poverty meeting, February 17, 1888, and was refused Christian burial in Calvary Cemetery, where Mrs. McGuire had bought a lot in 1870. Philip McGuire, administrator of his Father's estate, then instituted an action for an injunction to prevent the interference of the trustees of St. Patrick's Cathedral with the burial of his Father and for \$1,000 damages. The case was finally carried to the Supreme Court in which Dr. Burtzell, November 15, 1888, gave testimony from Canon Law in an effort to establish John McGuire's right to Christian burial that had been denied him. As Bishop McQuaid was then in Rome for a visit *ad limina* as well as for the settlement of other business, particularly the Lambert case, whose advocate Dr. Burtzell also was, Dr. McDonnell had sent him from New York a number of slips concerning the McGuire case. The Bishop strongly urged that the stenographic report of Burtzell's testimony be sent him in full, as he declared in his letter of December 8, 1888:

I intend to take up this subject first of all. This unfortunate man is so bold and defiant that, unless he can be quieted in some way, our ability to run our dioceses is at an end.

I have McGlynn's speech at the Anti-Poverty meeting when he paid his respects to the Bp. of Rochester. This amounts to nothing. It was, in some degree, a game of give and take. I paid my respects to him before. But in the same discourse, there is language against the Church and its authorities and teachings, which cannot be passed over. Yet this vile mocker is the upheld friend of Burtzell. If I don't get full satisfaction at the Propaganda, I will directly bring the case to the notice of the Holy Father. Miss Edes is translating certain passages for the information of the Propaganda.

I will keep this letter open until after my visit to the

Propaganda that I may be able to give my views with regard to their sentiments. I will try to get them to say in plain terms what you ought to do. I will advise them to order Burtzell, as a Propagandist, to Rome, send him to a Monastery for six months, and then, after due submission on his part, return him to New York to be sent to a country mission, you having, in the meantime, filled his place. If they do not care to bring him here, then you should send him to do penance, preparatory to his removal.

I told Jacobini that, if I had been in your place, I would have removed Burtzell the next day. But you felt afraid to do so, as Burtzell was a Propagandist. But don't be uneasy; it will all come out right. Indeed Burtzell's last affair is all in your favor. Dana of the *Sun* asked me yesterday if I did not think that Burtzell had become insane. I told him it looked like it.

When Bishop McQuaid took Dana to call upon Cardinal Rampolla, Leo XIII's Secretary of State, and Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda, the night of December 12, 1888, the distinguished Editor of the *New York Sun*, "took occasion to say that the non-Catholic American Public highly approved" Archbishop Corrigan's course, whom he also highly praised. A week later, December 19, Bishop McQuaid also presented Mr. Dana to Pope Leo XIII. The Holy Father thanked the Editor of the *New York Sun* for the work of his paper "in upholding sound principles of law and order, the basis of true liberty, without which there can be no real civilization and lasting progress for society and the human race." There was no mistake possible as to the Pope's meaning when he complimented Mr. Dana "upon his consistent defence of the rights of property and the support he had lent to Archbishop Corrigan in the same work." When Bishop McQuaid sent news of this to Archbishop Corrigan the next

day, December 20, 1888, he again referred to Burtzell's testimony in the McGuire case, writing:

Burtzell stated that, the Anti-Poverty meeting not having been condemned, McGuire did no wrong in attending them. This was pure sophistry on Burtzell's part. If Burtzell has not forgotten his theology or lost his conscience, he knows well that to be present, without necessity, where sacred things and persons are reviled and outraged, is a grievous sin; that co-operation and aiding in such doings is worse sin, aggravated by the fact that these meetings do more harm and lead more souls astray than the preachings of all the Protestant ministers of the City.

I remember that you asked me once if I did not think that the time had come for you to forbid attendance at these meetings. I thought it better for you not to act at that time, being under the impression that the meetings, like McGlynn himself, would soon die out. But now that they continue, that Burtzell and Malone approve of them, that priests absolve such sinners without requiring them to keep away from such dangerous places, I think it is your duty to forbid Catholics to be present at these meetings and make it a reserved case.

I would advise you to prepare a letter, instancing some of the worst expressions of McGlynn at these meetings, stating the fact of his excommunication by the Pope, and that those who uphold him in his rebellion partake of his sin, even if they do not incur the minor excommunication, that these meetings partake of a *quasi* religious character, even though so blasphemous in character, that therefore, inasmuch as some ecclesiastics are leading the simple laity astray by giving them to understand that it is not forbidden for the laity to be present at these meetings, it becomes your duty to,

Prepare the letter carefully, consulting if you think it necessary, one or more safe advisers before fulminating.

Be clear, strong, and bold, and not afraid.

Archbishop Corrigan took his time before acting. Finally, a month later, January 20, 1889, a letter

from the Archbishop was read in all the Churches of the New York Archdiocese. It made attendance at the meetings of the Anti-Poverty Society a reserved case inasmuch as the Pope had called Dr. McGlynn's opinions "false and pernicious," and the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition had declared attendance at such meetings "an open and public sin." The Archbishop also charged the "unhappy leader" of the Society with habitually "reviling sacred persons and things," particularly the Holy See. Interesting developments were soon reported by the Archbishop's Secretary, Reverend C. E. McDonnell, writing Bishop McQuaid February 22, 1889:

As you are aware, the Archbishop acted on your suggestion and issued a circular to the clergy, making attendance at Anti-Poverty meetings a reserved case. Its publication had the same effect on the Anti-Povertyites as Galvani's experiments on the frogs. On the night of the Sunday on which it was promulgated, it formed the text of the Anti-Poverty leader's discourse. He began to speak about a quarter to nine and had not finished when our stenographer left the hall at a quarter to twelve. The immediate effect of the circular, as was anticipated, was to swell the attendance at the meeting. Many went there through sheer curiosity, and it is reported that not a few were Orangemen. It was a severe blow coming so soon after the Judge's decision in the McGuire case, and it must have struck home, as the leader's words and rage show. The real effect of the circular will be seen when the time for the Easter duty urges. The Archbishop's action, *ca va sans dire*, meets the approval of the "*Major et sanior pars*" of clergy and laity.

Of late Dr. McGlynn has selected sensational titles for his "talks" — his subjects on the past two Sundays were "Prince Rudolf and John McGuire" and "Balfour and O'Brien." He is billed to speak on Sunday next on "Our Public Schools and their Enemies." His course reminds of the threat he is said to have made sixteen years or so ago, when a friend warned him that he was

going too far and might be suspended, "If they touch me, I will kick up the biggest row they have ever had in this diocese." He seems to have attempted this. For a time the newspapers gave his efforts notoriety, but now they pay little or no attention to him.

Father McDonnell also pointed out to Bishop McQuaid, in this letter, the significance, for the McGlynn case, of phrases used in the Apostolic Brief nominating Mgr. Donnelly Domestic Prelate. He had been Archbishop Corrigan's personal agent for a time at Rome in the McGlynn case. The Brief therefore declared:

This honor is conferred in recognition of the Mgr's love of Religion, his unwearying efforts for the increase of the Catholic Faith, his zeal and liberality in building two parish churches and "*quae tibi comparasti merita in difficillimis negotiis tibi ab Antistite tuo commissis forti animo atque egregia laude obeundis.*"

In the letter, which accompanies the Brief, Cardinal Simeoni also compliments the Monsignor on the discharge of duty in the same "*difficillimis negotiis.*" This recognition of the labors and merits of Mgr. Donnelly gives great satisfaction to the clergy, in fact I may say that it was the general expectation that he would be thus honored.

Much more important was another Roman document that reached Archbishop Corrigan April 23, 1889, the same day that the Archbishop went to Atlantic City in the company of Archbishop Ryan, Dr. McDonnell, and Father Magennis of Boston "to rest for a few days before beginning the long series of engagements for May & June." The next day, April 24, 1889, Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid from Hotel Brighton:

Early in the Month we received copies of the Papal letter approving the Statutes of the University. Yester-

day I received, *sub secreto S. Officii*, a document announcing the condemnation of Georgeism by decree of Feb. 6, and requesting the communication of said decision to the Bishops of the Province, *sub eodem sigillo*. The matter is not to be made (public), but we are expected to watch over the integrity of the Faith.

"The Church has perpetually taught the right of private property, *that of land included*, and has more than once defined it, most recently by the Encyclicals of Pius IX *Qui pluribus* and Leo XIII *Quod Apostolici Muneris*. The faithful and the clergy especially are to be sure to retain the true faith and beware of the false theories of Henry George."

As my Pastoral was expressly based on these Encyclicals and I was accused of stretching them too far, this new document is a complete vindication of my course.

The only trouble is that the decision is to be kept secret, (on account of circumstances), and hence it will be hard to enforce it.

* * * *

This document of the H. Office came by registered Mail *via* Baltimore. Archbishop Ryan has not received it yet, although his letters are forwarded to him regularly. Both the pronouncements of the H. O., viz. *in re* Knights of Labor and this, must have opened the eyes of our friends. They will be more careful, I trust, in the future, in closing their eyes to dangerous doctrines.

* * * *

I have not seen anything about F. Lambert lately in the papers. Nor have I heard anything from Burtzell since I refused to let him plead for McGlynn before me. He tried lately to get two committees of his Parish to call on me & have a Fair in the basement of his consecrated church after I gave him the negative answer of *Propaganda*. But they declined to come. Nothing can exceed his audacity and persistence.

LAMBERT CASE

What the McGlynn trouble was to the Archdiocese

of New York, outside of doctrine, in the matter of discipline, the Lambert trouble was, in large measure, to the Diocese of Rochester. This priest had fomented a party of opposition to Bishop McQuaid, on account of which his faculties were restricted to his own mission at first, and then, when Propaganda, prompted by Bishop McQuaid, declared that he did not legally belong to the Diocese of Rochester, not having been properly released from Alton, the diocese of his ordination, the Bishop promptly dismissed Father Lambert from the Diocese of Rochester. Archbishop Corrigan congratulated Bishop McQuaid sincerely on Propaganda's decision and hoped that it would be maintained, although this Congregation gave a different decision in the case of the Reverend Ponsardin *vs.* the Bishop of Portland. Writing of Propaganda's decision in the Lambert case, Archbishop Corrigan declared September 13, 1886:

The recent one is more conformable to law. It gives recalcitrants what they profess to desire—*justice*.

I will keep the documents carefully under lock and key, or return them by registered mail, as you prefer.

A letter was sent to Rev. Mr. Lambert yesterday to the effect that I had no jurisdiction in the premises.

Father Lambert, under the tutelage of Dr. Burtzell, had appealed to Archbishop Corrigan. He then appealed to Rome, to which he went the same time as Bishop McQuaid. Here Father Lambert was able to show that the legislation cited against him was later than the date of his *Exeat* from Alton Diocese. Propaganda therefore reversed its decision, but maintained the Bishop's right to move him from his mission to another of equal rank, demanded a public act of submission to his Bishop, and required him

to retract all he had written, directly or indirectly, against the Bishop. There was some difficulty in selecting the place to which Father Lambert was to be assigned. On this account Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid October 24, 1889:

Cardinal Simeoni has also written regarding the Lambert case. He thinks the S. C. will not accept either Scottsville or Victor as a suitable exchange for Waterloo, in the premises, as both are deemed inferior to it. F. Lambert has made a very good impression by his submission and his letter of apology, which was read and approved in full congregation, and as the Holy Father confidentially advises a "suitable provision" for him, the S. C. will hardly accept a small mission. I would recommend strongly that some other place be offered to Father Lambert, especially as, in such an event, the responsibility would be shifted to the Holy See. Cardinal Simeoni is very anxious that you accede to the wishes of the S. Congregation. I hope you can see your way to gratify him.—This implies a sacrifice, but, after all, will it not be better in the end?

Bishop McQuaid was not tempted to reward Lambert for his misdeeds by giving him a larger place than Victor or Scottsville. He therefore sent Archbishop Corrigan, October 25, 1889, the documents of the Lambert case. When the Archbishop acknowledged that he had received them, he enclosed, October 29, 1889, the draft of his reply to Cardinal Simeoni. He also then declared:

I intend today to send a *private* letter in which I will endeavour to throw light on the false reports circulated in newspapers, &c., and urge firmness on the part of Ppgda. It would never do to depose a Bishop under circumstances like the present. The consequences would be disastrous to all order and discipline.

* * * *

We have another Anti-Poverty case on hand. The poor woman in question was a marked attendant at the meet-

ings. And yet Dr. B., in his Eulogy, called her, according to the newspapers, "a moral Christian in all respects." This and kindred matter will come up in my private letter.

Archbishop Corrigan took the Lambert papers with him to Baltimore where he went over them carefully. The next week the Archbishop made this known to Bishop McQuaid, adding furthermore in writing him November 17, 1889:

I also had an earnest talk about it with the Archbishop of Boston. He has promised to write direct to Propaganda in your favor, as I also will do. He was of opinion that separate letters would have more weight in Rome than a joint communication.

I have also read all the newspaper articles which have been forwarded to me. Certainly there is great provocation, but even so, I would strongly counsel the policy of silence at home and the simple recital of facts to Propaganda.

Abp. Ryan assured me he had no thought of your difficulty when he made his unfortunate speech. I was not present at the dinner on account of illness.

* * * *

I expect to send a strong letter to Card. Simeoni by Saturday's steamer.

* * * *

I hope you will try to avoid fretting over this matter as much as possible and not allow yourself to be depressed by it.

I expect plenty of trouble here very soon and am trying by prayer to fit myself for the contest.

Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia had illustrated the occasional mishap of a fighting Bishop by reference to a Bishop meeting his Waterloo, which happened to be the name of the place from which Father Lambert had been removed by Bishop McQuaid.

The trouble Archbishop Corrigan expected very soon came when he planned to discipline Dr. Burtzell. The Archbishop wrote Bishop McQuaid about the matter December 27, 1889:

Dr. Burtzell has also appealed against me. *Please do not speak of this*, as it is desirable to keep it out of the newspapers. I had under contemplation his transfer to another Church when he immediately appealed to Rome. I think it is very fortunate, as the rebellion has now come to a head.

Archbishop Corrigan had already arranged to sail for Europe on the 18th of January, 1890. He now proposed to go almost direct to Rome where he could battle personally in the conflict with Dr. Burtzell. He also offered to be of any service there to Bishop McQuaid to whom he had just sent back the Lambert papers. A few days later Bishop McQuaid received "Propaganda's last final decision." The next day, January 22, 1890, he informed Bishop Gilmour of its contents:

It confirms that of last July, decides that Lambert shall not go back to Waterloo; that his act of submission shall be published; and that he shall accept one of the two mission I offered him.

Lambert finally chose to accept Scottsville, of which he was Pastor for the rest of his life.

Even though the Burtzell business was still unfinished at Rome, Archbishop Corrigan took time to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. From Jerusalem he wrote a letter to Dr. McGlynn, telling him: "I was impelled to pour out my whole soul in supplication that our Savior might bring you back to the channels of His grace." He also told Dr. McGlynn to write if he could help him "in any way to reach this desired consolation." However, Arch-

bishop Corrigan did not get much satisfaction out of the reply he received from Dr. McGlynn who wrote at New York, April 8, 1890:

I am thankful for your prayers; and I, too, have frequently prayed for you.

You surely can do much to have the excommunication, to which you refer, withdrawn. I think that you ought, and I shall be glad if you will.

I will not go to Rome. I will not condemn the doctrines that I have uttered. I have no case before your tribunal. I have not appealed, and I will not appeal to your tribunal, and if kind friends have made recourse for me I revoke and repudiate it.

But meanwhile, I can assure you that in all that led to my suspension and excommunication I did not sin against my conscience, that I humbly trust that I am in the Grace of God, and that, when a few weeks ago I was very near death with pneumonia, I trusted that I was not wholly unprepared to die, even without any sacrament, and I had no thought that my duty to God demanded that I should make any apologies or retraction, but I rather felt that I should be sinning against God my making them.

BURTSSELL CASE

Dr. Burtzell did not prove as obdurate as Dr. McGlynn. At first he did resist his removal from the Church of Epiphany in New York City to the mission of Roundout, but April 14, 1890, circumstances moved Bishop McQuaid to write Archbishop Corrigan:

Your speedy departure from Rome and rumors of Burtzell going quietly to Roundout, led me to think that Rome had wisely ordered him to obey without a formal investigation. It seems, however, that a juridical form has to be gone through with.

Even worse things threatened to develop, and Bish-

op McQuaid strongly expressed his indignation in writing his Archbishop May 6, 1890:

You are now to be put on a gridiron and broiled just as I was. Sending this simple case of insubordination and revolt, on the part of such a priest as Burtzell, to a General Congregation is practically making government impossible in America. A Bishop will cease to be able to govern when his acts may be upset by Rome on the grounds of expediency or through fear of a recalcitrant priest.

You are censurable in your dealing with Burtzell only for too great leniency and for offering him so important a place as Roundout. To force you now to keep him in New York City is practically to condemn you and exalt him, no matter how sugar-coated the compromise may be made.

In your defeat, for defeat it will be unless Burtzell be ordered to go to Roundout, all the bishops in the country will have to suffer. Every time a bishop has occasion to transfer a prominent priest who has money to hire Roman lawyers, for grievous causes that must be acted on, rather than do so, he will fold his arms and justify his doing nothing by the fact that he had no reasonable hope of being sustained by Rome.

The Rochester *Union and Advertiser*, July 8, 1890, gave the news of an adverse decision at Rome against Dr. Burtzell, of whom Mr. William Purcell, the Editor, then wrote: "He was a sympathizer with, if not ecclesiastical attorney for the deposed and unfrocked Dr. McGlynn in his attempt to attach his Church to the tail of the kite of Henry George and the cranks and anarchists." At the same time the paper cited the *Brooklyn Eagle* in support of Archbishop Corrigan and Propaganda in this action. The next day it cited the *New York Times* on the Canon Law for removing Rectors and the *New York Herald* for the decision of the United States Supreme Court on the exercise of ecclesiasti-

cal authority in church discipline. The issue of July 15, 1890, quoted the *Albany Argus*:

The triumphant vindication of Archbishop Corrigan's conservative dignified, and resolute course by the highest authorities of his Church was eminently just and proper. Communism and insubordination are not countenanced by that Church.

Despite all this in the Public Press, the malcontents continued to agitate. This moved Bishop McQuaid to encourage Archbishop Corrigan to persevere nevertheless, writing him January 22, 1891:

The *Mail Express* article is from McGlynn, directly or indirectly. The course you are following is the only one to be held to. Their ravings do you no harm. They give scandal and cause pain to many. But what care those outlaws for sin?

LABOR ENCYCLICAL

A serious check to their evil work was precisely then in the making. Leo XIII had already informed Cardinal Manning January 17, 1891, as regards the Irish question and the condition of working men:

We are engaged in the consideration of each matter, and, as soon as we are able, we will take pains that neither our duty nor charity are lacking to either cause.

So far as the condition of working men was concerned, the promise was adequately fulfilled in the Pope's great encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, on Labor, issued May 15, 1891, which explicitly maintained the right of private property in land and condemned "certain obsolete opinions" in opposition to what has been here maintained." This part of the Encyclical fulfilled the expectations of Bishop McQuaid, communicated almost two and a half years

before its publication. He then wrote Archbishop Corrigan from Rome:

Leo will cover, in his next Encyclical, the whole doctrine of property as to the right of ownership. This will settle George's theories. The question of modes of taxation can be left to the people so that they do not infringe on the right of individuals to hold real estate as owners.

As things were in New York, Archbishop Corrigan was anxious to see the great Papal document appear sooner than it actually did. Consulted January 22, 1891, by Bishop McQuaid about the Church's stand towards the *Odd Fellows*, he remarked towards the end of his letter:

The *Herald* and other papers of this morning have another mare's nest in the case proposed for the next Conference. It will have the effect of calling the attention of the Clergy to the subject in question. I hope the Encyclical on Socialism will appear soon and remove any doubts still remaining in the mind of good Priests.

Henry George himself had a clear realization of the significance of the papal document. For September 11, 1891, he addressed *The Condition of Labor, An Open Letter to Leo XIII*, in criticism of the Encyclical, "since its most strikingly pronounced condemnations are directed against a theory that we, who hold it, know to be deserving of your support." He argued for a reconsideration of the question, "confident that, instead of defending private property in land, you will condemn it with *anathema*." No such thing was, of course, done by Leo XIII.

McGLYNN'S EXONERATION

Despite the condemnation of Henry George's fun-

damental doctrine, denying the right of private property in land, by the Papal Encyclical, Archbishop Corrigan soon informed Bishop McQuaid that steps had been taken towards a settlement of the McGlynn case, giving him the details as follows, August 9, 1892:

Cardinal Ledochowski wrote me that Archbishop I. saw McGlynn by his request, consequent on a letter from McGlynn desiring overtures for a reconciliation. I pray this may lead to something solid.

Archbishop Ireland's intervention was not as innocent as the words of the Prefect of the Propaganda seemed to indicate. This American Prelate had grievously misjudged the character of the gentle and pious Archbishop Corrigan who had opposed some of the policies of Archbishop Ireland in his zeal to keep Catholic Faith and Life pure and sound, uncontaminated by false liberalism, in America. This is evident from a letter that Archbishop Ireland wrote Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco on board of R. M. SS. *Brittanic* July 6, 1892. In that letter he described Archbishop Corrigan in the blackest of terms:

I know him as you never could have known him. My verdict is that he is the incarnation of malice, ambition, lying, low cunning, and all that is vile and damnable. For years before I went to Rome, he has been at work to undermine and to ruin me, and since I did go to Rome, he has worked for my ruin with a diabolical energy and cunning.

Well, I have laid him low now — I assure you.

. . . I give you a dead secret that I have told no one else. I think the McGlynn case will be reopened with a splendid chance for the poor man. This will break Corrigan's head and heart.

It did neither. However, difficulties between Bishops

and Priests, like those between Archbishop Corrigan and Dr. McGlynn, led to the mission entrusted to Monsignor Satolli by a decree of Propaganda, November 8, 1892, when he was sent to represent Leo XIII "at the public demonstrations which are to be held in honor of the Genoese hero on the fourth centenary of his memorable discovery" in the Chicago World's Fair. In order that controversies between Bishops and Priests might be settled and that tranquillity disturbed in dioceses by them, might be restored more promptly and easily, it seemed opportune to Propaganda to take advantage of the stay of Archbishop Satolli of Lepanto in the United States and give him "a commissary faculty to take cognizance of and settle said controversies without any appeal being allowed and with observance of judicial procedure only in substantial things." However, in each case, two of the most distinguished members of the clergy were always to be chosen to assist at the proceedings. This decree was made known to Pope Leo XIII October 30, 1892, approved by him, and ordered to be put into form. In virtue of this decree, the McGlynn case also came to the cognizance of Archbishop Satolli to whom McGlynn submitted a statement of his land doctrine. It maintained the *common right to land*, asserted the *evil of private ownership and dominion of land*, and admitted only the *right of private possession of land* with the payment of the *full rental value* (Single Tax) to the community by the individual possessor. This Single Tax must also be based on any *unearned increment* in the value of the land, but exclude the fruits and products of industry, to which alone private ownership is declared justly to extend. This was written despite the fact that Leo XIII, in his Encyclical on Labor, explicitly

condemned as erroneous those who "grant to the individual man the use of the soil and various products, but declare it absolutely wrong that one should consider himself the real owner of the land."

Monsignor Satolli gave Dr. McGlynn's statement to four professors of the Catholic University in Washington, Drs. Bouquillon, O'Gorman, Shahan, and Grannan. They declared that it contained nothing contrary to Catholic teaching, including Leo XIII's Encyclical on Labor. It is impossible to see how they could come to this conclusion, but Monsignor Satolli, who also received an Italian translation from Dr. McGlynn himself, evidently acted on the assumption of its correctness, freeing Dr. McGlynn from ecclesiastical censures, suspension by Archbishop Corrigan and excommunication by Rome. Under the circumstances, there was, of course, no retraction, and Dr. McGlynn gloried in the fact by his continued advocacy of Henry George's land theory. Henry George himself claimed that the reinstatement of Dr. McGlynn was the favorable answer given by Leo XIII to his *Open Letter*, but Mr. William Purcell, who had kept a careful check upon the evidence as editor of the *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, could only understand the mystery of the case on the assumption that Monsignor Satolli had been deceived. To him, the restoration of McGlynn, as well as that of O'Flaherty, whom scandalous misdeeds had put out of the exercise of the ministry in the Rochester Diocese for years, was a greater scandal than former misconduct. This settlement of these two cases moved Archbishop Corrigan to write Bishop McQuaid December 28, 1892:

We have both reason to sympathize with each other and lovingly embrace the Cross that is offered us.

I have just heard that F. O'Flaherty has also been

absolved from censure and will say Mass tomorrow morning. One of my Vicars was shown a document from Satolli declaring F. O'F. free from all censure and rehabilitated, whereupon, fearing to fail in obedience to the Apostolic Representative, he gave permission to celebrate Mass; and then, timid about his action, he came to lay the case before me. By my advice, he will see Father Julius, Rector of St. Anthony's Church, and arrange that the Rev. O'F. say Mass in private until you are heard from.

From a good source, I learn that every one who presumes to say a word against Mgr. S's real or supposed authority is immediately taken to task, e. g. Dr. Loughlin of Philadelphia, Bp. Spalding, Abp. Elder, Abp. Katzer. I too have been given to understand that no such utterances as were found in the *N. Y. Sun* Dec. 25, about Rev. Dr. McGlynn must be repeated. Possibly the Protestant press will object to being muzzled.

About my own case, I knew nothing of the proceedings in Washington until I read the astounding announcement in the papers that the Excommunication had been removed. Only this morning did I have *any* intimation from Mgr. S. that McGlynn had been absolved. He mentioned the fact incidentally, saying that he acted in conformity with powers given by the Pope, and "according to conditions prescribed by the same and carried into effect." What these were he does not say. He then intimates that "by-gones are by-gones," and that propriety and other reasons forbid any allusion to them.

Our people are terribly worked up, particularly the better classes. Many say they will go to Church no more. J. J. Glover said: "If this be true, I will turn Protestant." Croker said it was "the greatest blow the Church in this country ever received." Prominent Catholic laymen are to meet tonight in the Catholic Club. I do not know what they will do; but surely I will be blamed and possibly ordered to discipline the Club, or worse.

We are in a reign of Terror.

I do not intend to allow McG. to say Mass in this Diocese unless so advised by the Holy Office, to which I have applied for instructions. Today I was told *confidentially* that McGlynn would be made a Professor in

the University!—I never thought for a moment of giving him a place in this Diocese. I will pay his board, if necessary, elsewhere.—Many are beginning to see a “conspiracy” in this whole movement. The letter in the *Sun*, “a Roman Catholic” is from an old Setonian. Please read “the Boston woman’s letter and follow it up for a few days.—

I trust in your prayers at Mass for light and strength.

Bishop McQuaid refused to scandalize his faithful people by giving a place to or even allowing Father O’Flaherty to say Mass in the Diocese of Rochester. Finally he received an assignment in the Diocese of Erie. Archbishop Corrigan was not equally successful in the case of Dr. McGlynn, whom he made Pastor of St. Mary’s Church in Newburgh, of which the latter took charge as such January 1, 1895. This meant no change in Dr. McGlynn’s land teaching. For, his funeral oration over the mortal remains of Henry George in the Grand Central Palace, New York City, October 30, 1897, solemnly declared:

I would have all those whom I could influence anywhere to know that the doctrines of Mr. George are in fullest consonance with the teachings of true religion, with the essentials of that religion of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

While Dr. McGlynn continued his ministry in Newburgh until his death, January 7, 1900, he was never returned to his old parish of St. Stephen’s Church in New York City.

SCHOOL QUESTION REVIVED

Dissatisfaction with Monsignor Satolli was not limited to his settlement of the McGlynn case and other cases of trouble between Bishops and Priests.

His intervention in the School Question caused even more general criticism throughout the United States. Controversy had broken out anew on the occasion of Archbishop Ireland's address on State and Parish Schools in the general convention of the National Educational Association at St. Paul in 1890 and particularly on the occasion of the compromise arrangement reached with the local school-board in regard to the Catholic schools of Stillwater and Faribault in 1891. In both these towns the schools of the parish were leased to the School Board during the regular school hours when only secular instruction was to be given. The children could go to Mass before these hours or be instructed in Catechism outside of these hours. The Sisters were kept as teachers and paid by the School Board. At Faribault, the Secretary of the Board of Education, S. B. Wilson, found it necessary to calm the excited feeling of non-Catholics who thought that the Public School had surrendered to the Catholic Church. In a letter published in the *Christian Union*, October 8, 1891, he wrote that the people need not fear, as the present arrangement is not a permanent one, and the children may be divided up according to wards and scattered among the public schools of the town; that the teachers, who compare favorably with "our teachers" in ability and education, may have to modify their dress. Bishop Chatard thought this enough to show "What is liable to happen, and how those, who are going in this direction, are trusting to chance and tempting Providence." Nothing of this found a place in the letters written by Cardinal Gibbons to Rome: first, December 18, 1891, to Mgr. O'Connell, and then to Pope Leo XIII himself, to whom he wrote in ending his letter March 1, 1892:

The silence of the Holy See, on this question, has been, and will be interpreted as a virtual condemnation of the conduct and views of the great Archbishop of St. Paul. If this opinion had been shared by the American Public, as it assuredly would be in time, I fear that the national sentiment would be excited and that measures, obnoxious to Catholics, would be proposed in school matters. There have been attempts in this direction; they have been checked for the present, but it is important not to renew them in creating or maintaining prejudices against ourselves.

Archbishop Ireland himself also wrote in defence of the arrangements at Faribault and Stillwater, sending to Rome a *Memorial*. He also put into it a significant warning, which also contained an insidious attack on his opponents. For he declared:

Unfortunately, now the question has been so much ventilated, public opinion considers me as the representative of the church party in the United States in favor of the government and considers my opponents as a foreign party to the United States and a great danger to the Republic. In case of an adverse decision I have serious reasons to be alarmed. We Catholics are only one in eight in the United States, without wealth and influence, and a much larger proportion of Catholics than this, both in point of wealth and influence, did not prevent the *Kultur Kampf* in Germany.

Others also wrote so that Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of Propaganda, perceived that the American Catholic Church was divided in its judgment of Archbishop Ireland's action. He noted that some condemned the compromise as irreconcilable with the Roman Instruction on Public Schools in 1875 and the prescriptions of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore for the erection of parish schools in every Diocese, near each church; that others defended the arrangement with weighty reasons, holding

that it, in no way, derogated from Church legislation on the subject. Inasmuch as there was no unanimity in the matter even amongst Bishops, and inasmuch as Archbishop Ireland himself submitted the case to Rome, the Holy See determined to decide the heated controversy, which, unfortunately, was also agitated in the Public Press. Propaganda gave its decision April 21, 1892:

The agreement entered into by the Most Reverend Archbishop John Ireland, in regard to the schools of Faribault and Stillwater, *can be tolerated* in view of all the circumstances, the Decrees of the Councils of Baltimore remaining firmly in force.

The Propaganda decision was approved the same day by Pope Leo XIII who was warned too late, by all the Bishops of the Province except Bishop Ryan of Buffalo, not to allow any decision that would endanger the Parochial School nor to be influenced by the threat of an impending persecution in case of an adverse decision, as there was no such danger. Leo XIII apparently considered this alleged threat of persecution to be the main thing that "was troubling the minds" of the New York Prelates, that moved them to write. He therefore replied May 23, 1892:

We want to assure you that, in this judgment, no one suggested to Us the suspicion that there was to be feared an impending dangerous persecution for Catholics, if the action of the Archbishop of St. Paul as regards the schools located in the towns of Faribault and Stillwater was disapproved by Us. Since neither the said Venerable Brother nor any one else made mention of this danger, it is clear that a mendacious public rumor gave rise to the story that led you into the wholly inane and false notion.

While Leo XIII was gravely mistaken in this state-

ment, as both Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland had warned Rome of the danger of persecution in case of a decision adverse to Archbishop Ireland, he was right in declaring that, in the cognizance and judgment of this cause, he had been mindful of the decrees on parish schools in the councils of Baltimore which he wished "constantly to be observed," although the "exceptional and unexpected" might "be tolerated, when done, for equity's sake," being "judged with moderation and prudence rather than the rigor of the law." He had found all American Bishops, in their visits to Rome, "unanimous in their denial that neutral schools can be approved, that is, schools without religion," and he urged all American Bishops "to labor with equal counsel and effort that Catholic children do not attend schools in which there is no religious instruction and open danger of moral perversion threatens." As he realized the injustice of forcing "Catholic parents . . . to build and maintain elementary and high schools that they are unable to use for the education of their children," he desired the Bishops to work hard with the heads of government in each State "to provide, by wise legislation, a teaching system, supported by public expense and so by contributions also of Catholics, with nothing to hurt their conscience or to offend their religion." Finally, Pope Leo XIII hoped that this would be the end of controversy so that the Bishops of the United States might "have one heart and one mind, and, with forces united by concord, go on laboring gladly for the glory of the Divine Name and the salvation of souls." To the great mortification of Archbishop Corrigan, he found "this letter already printed" in the *Osservatore Romano*, June 2, 1892, before it came "to the hands of the Bishops to whom it was

addressed." Writing Bishop McQuaid June 30, 1892, he declared:

I have no means of knowing who furnished the copy to the Roman newspapers. Probably Mgr. della Chiesa, Sec'y to Card. Rampolla. The same who wrote laudatory notices of Abp. Ireland and explained the *Tolerari potest*.

The explanation of this phrase in the decision of the Faribault and Stillwater school cases appeared as an editorial in the *Osservatore Romano* June 3, 1892. Its authorship was known to Archbishop Corrigan from "direct and reliable information," but the Archbishop remarked that Monsignor della Chiesa was "without any influence whatever in theological circles." The *Liverpool Times* also had an early copy of the Pope's letter which Archbishop Corrigan had reason to think had been furnished by Archbishop Ireland himself. For its owner, Father Nugent, who was then in Italy, was "the bosom friend of Archbishop Ireland, both having acted together in the Colonization and Temperance schemes." The *London Tablet* handled the Papal Letter in such a way that Archbishop Corrigan also saw Archbishop Ireland's hand there, all the praises of "the great Archbishop" being inserted. Under these circumstances, Archbishop Corrigan did two things. First, he wrote Leo XIII, thanking him for his letter and the rescript in the case proposed by Archbishop Ireland. He also declared that the Bishops of the New York Province had always striven to remove dissensions and to maintain the bonds of charity for the spiritual good of the faithful and for cherishing and increasing unity with the Apostolic See. According to the desire of the Pope, expressed through Propaganda, Archbishop Corrigan said that New York Prelates would unite

counsels to make right provision for the instruction of Catholics in public schools; lest, however, there might be suspicion that hitherto their pastoral care had not extended to these children, Archbishop Corrigan informed Leo XIII that "in the whole province of New York there are established Sunday Schools, in which, after having fulfilled the obligation of hearing Mass, boys and girls of the public school are assembled for Catechetical Instruction." The second thing Archbishop Corrigan did was to write the Vicar General of the Pope, as the Archbishop informed Bishop McQuaid June 21, 1892:

On receiving the copy of the Holy Father's letter I wrote a respectful and confidential letter to Cardinal Parocchi, who is on our side of the question, showing that the Sovereign Pontiff had fallen into an error of fact when he said that no one had given any information of possible persecution in this country.

When the printed circular appeared in the Roman papers, I then wrote an open and strong letter to the Prefect of Propaganda, complaining that injustice had been done to the Bishops of this Province and politely demanding reparation.

In a previous letter I spoke to him at some length of the difficulties created by the annual meetings of Archbishops and the undisguised complaints of the Episcopate that their rights were unjustifiably invaded. I then suggested that, if any good were expected to come from the meetings of the various Provinces, should be held in advance.

In his letter to the Prelates of the New York Province, Leo XIII had expressed his earnest desire, already signified through Propaganda, that Bishops in their next meetings "diligently deliberate . . . on the adoption of plans contributing best so that Catholic children do not attend schools in which there is no religious instruction and in which

open danger of moral perversion threatens." Furthermore, when Cardinal Ledochowski communicated Propaganda's decision on the Faribault and Stillwater Schools May 3, 1892, the Archbishops were explicitly requested, at their next meeting, "to consider most diligently a plan to make provision for the very many Catholic children who were attending public schools according to trustworthy estimates." They were also directed to look to the Bishops for every help to find the remedies best fitted to meet the evils efficaciously. With all this in mind, Archbishop Corrigan had written Bishop McQuaid June 17, 1892:

The letter of the Holy Father is very valuable, first, for its explicit condemnation of the neutral schools, secondly, for the authentic interpretation of the tolerance accorded to Faribault and Stillwater, and thirdly, because it leaves with the Episcopate the devising means of providing for the Catholic children who now attend the Public Schools.

While Bishop McQuaid thought the premature and unauthorized publication of the Pope's letter greatly to blame, he also felt that there might be some advantage gained by it. For he replied to Archbishop Corrigan June 21, 1892: "We can now freely talk in regard to our letter to the Holy Father and what caused us to write it." When a Reporter from the *New York World* came to interview him June 27, 1892, he declared that he had hardly patience to deal with the threat of persecution that Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland mentioned to Roman authorities "so as to bias their judgment." Aside from the inaccuracy of the Pope's letter on this point, Bishop McQuaid declared to the Reporter:

This letter of His Holiness, more strongly than anything else that had yet appeared, condemns all neutral schools from which God and the Christian religion are excluded in their teaching, and in it the decrees of the Council of Baltimore, with regard to the necessity and urgency of thorough Catholic instruction, wherever possible, are more strongly brought out.

On the other hand, Bishop McQuaid claimed, in this interview that "the foolish disturbance of Faribault and Stillwater, the silly language of the parish priest of Faribault, untruthfully characterizing our parochial schools as unAmerican, has thrown back the cause of Catholic education in the United States for another quarter of a century." A few days later, June 30, 1892, Archbishop Corrigan reported to Bishop McQuaid:

None of the City papers, as far as I know, alluded to the interview in the *World*. The *Brooklyn Eagle* of Monday had a savage article on the subject, arguing that the *Memorial* was a "campaign document" and a forgery by which we had all been deceived.

I have not the *Memorial* at present, but can get it back at any time.

My stenographer is going to Syracuse next week with Dr. Ferrante,—to finish the O'Sullivan case. On his return I will dictate the *Memorial* to him and have a type-written version forwarded to you.

* * * *

The *Tablet* has veered around completely on the School Question.

A month later, July 31, 1892, Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of Propaganda, wrote Cardinal Gibbons that the Archbishops, who had been directed May 3, 1892, "to search carefully, in their next reunion, for means of supplying the religious needs of Catholic children frequenting public schools in great numbers, outside the system of parochial schools," were

to confer first with their suffragans whose advice would make easier the deliberations of the Archbishops and give weight to their resolutions. Furthermore, the Cardinal Prefect ordered that "this procedure should be observed each time the Archbishops of the Republic hold their meetings." Archbishop Corrigan was pleased to read the first news of this in the *Commercial Advertiser* of August 4, 1892, and the next day he recalled to Bishop McQuaid's memory that he had informed him some-time ago of having written in this sense to the Cardinal Prefect. He added:

Possibly others have written in like manner. At all events I am very glad that the suggestion has been received with favor and has been accepted.

I suppose you have seen in the newspapers the excitement caused by the publication of a dispatch from the Vatican regarding our letter to the Pope.—In point of fact I did send to the members of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, residing in Rome, a copy of the same document sent to the Bishops of the Province with the Papal letter, namely two extracts from the *Memorial* bearing upon the subject and nothing more.

Archbishop Ireland's *Memorial* was still the source of trouble even in New York City. Bishop McQuaid was anxious to discuss matters with Archbishop Corrigan who would have gone to Hemlock Lake with the greatest of pleasure, where Archbishop Williams of Boston was then also, but engagements in various places of the Archdiocese made a visit to Hemlock Lake at this time impossible. The Archbishop therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid August 9, 1892:

Mr. Ford of the *Freeman's Journal* promises to take back his slanderous utterances relative to myself and the "Memorial." He was forced to admit at once that

his correspondent (?), who spoke of a purloined *proof*, could not mean my *copy* which is duly authenticated by Abp. Ireland himself. Consequently, no "theft," no "bribery," no "treason to the Holy See," and other such nonsense!

* * * *

I will have to keep the Memorial a few days longer to have it in my power, if necessary, to show to the incredulous that my copy of the Memorial is not the "stolen *proof*," but a copy duly authenticated &c.—Then I will send it to you.

Before this was done Edward M. Lahiffe of the *New York World* had a private conversation with Archbishop Corrigan about the *Memorial*. The latter thought it not judicious to let it be published just then. The following day Lahiffe was sent to Buffalo in connection with the strike. He returned thence to New York only August 24, 1892, to find there "a very handsome offer to go on the staff of the *Chicago Herald*." He accepted the offer the next day by telegraph, which meant that he had to leave New York two days later for Chicago. It was impossible for him to see Archbishop Corrigan before his departure, as the Archbishop was away in Troy on retreat. He therefore turned to Bishop McQuaid in the difficulty, having been told by Archbishop Corrigan that he was sending the *Memorial* to a friend, Bishop McQuaid. Lahiffe labored to show the Bishop the advantage of having the *Memorial* appear first in print at Chicago, writing him August 25, 1892, from the editorial rooms of the *New York World*:

The initial publication in the West will be all the more desirable. I could have the entire affair published in the *Herald* at Chicago. The Press Association correspondents there would get the *Herald's* proofs and

telegraph it to all the papers in the country. In this way carping critics would be at a loss to discover who was responsible for the publication. An early response to this at the above address or (Should you want to see His Grace) at Chicago c/e *Chicago Herald* will oblige.

Bishop McQuaid, who "never quite liked the man," later confessed to Archbishop Corrigan that he "was a little mistrustful, and did not answer the letter."

After his return to New York City from Troy, the Archbishop heard that the meeting of the Metropolitans was "likely to be postponed until November 16." This gave him occasion to remark in his letter to Bishop McQuaid August 31, 1892:

All the better for us, as more time will be given for preparation. Already the tide is beginning to turn in our favor in Rome; and by degrees the light will force its way.

I have noted, with great pleasure and gratitude your utterances in the *Cath. Herald* of Sept. 3rd. just received.

This paper evidently reached Archbishop Corrigan before its publication date. The same day on which he wrote Bishop McQuaid, the Archbishop also issued the invitation to the meeting of the Bishops of the Province at the Archbishop's House on Wednesday morning, September 14, at ten o'clock, in accordance with the recent letter of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. He indicated the scope of the meeting as follows:

Besides the general subject of providing for the spiritual welfare of the Catholic children who now attend non-Catholic schools, the attention of the Bishops will be invited to the question of Secret Societies, particularly the Odd Fellows.

It may be desirable also to exchange views with re-

gard to a recent circular recommending the establishment, in every Parish, of a Sodality of the Holy Family.

The matter of Matrimonial dispensation will also come up for consideration.

Before the meeting of the Archbishops took place, Archbishop Satolli arrived in the United States from Rome, charged with a manifold mission, not only to represent the Holy See, at the invitation of the President of the United States in the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, and to take steps for the establishment of the permanent Apostolic Delegation in Washington, but also to settle disputes between Bishops and Priests, and especially to make every effort to eradicate all germs of disagreement from the controversies on the right training of Catholic youth. It was a momentous mission that ran the danger of being wrecked by partisan politics, as Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid, writing October 12-13, 1892:

The delegation of six Priests from Washington and Baltimore is in town. Three of their number called yesterday during my absence at the Naval Parade. A letter was afterwards sent by Austin E. Ford, in the name of Rev. Dr. O'Gorman, who did not call in person, to say that Mgr. Satolli was "the guest of the Government," endorsed as such by a communication from the Secretary of State to the Custom House Officials here, and that after landing the whole party of eight would call at this House. When and how they are to come and how long they intend to stay, is advisably omitted, it would seem, as one of their number, whom I chanced to meet last night, was very careful to impress on me that he knew nothing about the arrangements.

Oct. 13th—Mgr. Satolli has come and gone. I did not send a carriage for him nor do anything whatever in the premises—simply attending to my own affairs. And when he came, I did not say a word about his Mission,

&c.—but simply entertained him as I did the three other Bishops who were here at the time. But *entre nous* a bold attempt was made to capture him for the *Republican* party by Mgr. Ireland's henchman, Dr. O'Gorman. They sent a U. S. Revenue Cutter entirely manned by Republicans: Kerens of St. Louis—Gen. O'Beirne of New York; Austin E. Ford, &c. Mgr. S. *refused* to accept their offer. Then O'Beirne stormed and said it was an *insult* to the Government not to use the boat it sent in courtesy. Finally Mgr. S. accepted *provided* he would land from the *Majestic*. They promised, but did not keep their word. We are now trying to keep the matter out of the newspapers.

I have perfect confidence in the result of this Mission. Too many prayers have been offered not to see already the finger of Div. Providence shaping events to His Glory.

This certainly seemed to be the case when Professor Willis West, October 29, 1892, wrote to enlighten the Congregational public about school matters in Faribault where the old members of the School Board, to whom Father Conroy was added as a candidate, were defeated by a majority of about 200 out of a total of 861 votes cast. Mr. West admitted that "the election did arouse bitter feeling on both sides and so has done harm to the cause of absorbing old parochial schools into the city system and has reinforced the demand of a part of the Catholic population for a reopening of parochial schools." On the other hand, Mr. West denied that there ever had been a Faribault plan such as it had been pictured by Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland in their letters to the Roman authorities. For he wrote in his statement to the *Christian Union*:

If the Plan had been to segregate Catholic children under teachers of their own faith, no one would condemn it more heartily than would the writer. But there was

no such Plan. The reason for not making sweeping changes at the moment were published in these columns shortly after the transfer of the schools. But changes have been made, so that the school must gradually lose all denominational character in its attendance. During the first term last year the more advanced classes were removed to other buildings, leaving in the Hill School, as the old parochial building is called, the pupils up to the sixth year of school work only. This fall definite district boundaries were fixed for this building to apply first only to the lowest room. All children in the new district, who belonged in a primary room, were sent to this building, and the few of those, remaining in this room from last year and residing in other districts, were distributed among the proper buildings. The lowest room, therefore now contains children, irrespective of denomination, and is in all respects a ward school. The children, who were already in the two upper rooms at the close of last year, were allowed to remain, excepting the highest class of twenty-one pupils, which passed to the Central Grammar School by regular promotion. In the same way, at regular intervals, the remaining classes, in these two rooms, will pass out, and their places will be filled by pupils who came through the lower ward school until all three rooms are filled up on the basis of residence and not of religious affiliation.

If Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland had described the Faribault school in these terms to the Roman authorities, there would have been no *tolerari potest* decree issued by Propaganda and approved by the Pope. If "the finger of Divine Providence" seemed to such men as Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid apparent in the evident disintegration of the alleged Faribault plan, it certainly did not seem present to them in the conduct of Monsignor Satolli at the Archbishops' meeting in New York which Archbishop Corrigan a little later described to Bishop McQuaid:

In his Address to us in New York he inveighed strongly against those who tried to draw out of the com-

mand "to teach all nations" authorization for Catholic *grammar* and *arithmetic*. He derided that interpretation extensively, and yet we were not conscious of having advanced it in any shape or form. I inferred, personally, that he was regaling us with stale objections concocted by the followers of Dr. Bouquillon.

During this Catholic School controversy Professor Bouquillon of the Catholic University had published a pamphlet with the title: *Education. To Whom Does It Belong?* The preface has him write it "at the request of ecclesiastical superiors" who "deemed that a clearer exposition of the principles, underlying the school question, would be both useful and opportune at this hour, when the practical difficulties, in which it is involved, have become national concerns." If there was any doubt who these superiors were, Bishop Chatard was at least "informed in two interviews—one in St. Louis with the Rt. Revd. Rector of the Catholic University and the other in New York with the Most Revd. Archbishop of St. Paul—that the views of Professor Bouquillon are in agreement with their own." These views are briefly summarized in the concluding paragraph. Education is said to belong

to the individual, physical and moral, to the family, to the state, to the church; to none of these solely and exclusively, but to all four combined in harmonious working; for the reason that man is not an isolated, but a social being. Precisely in the harmonious combination of these four factors in education is the difficulty of practical application. Practical application is the work of men, whom God has placed at the head of the Church and State, not ours.

The Most Reverend Francis Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto, Delegate of the Apostolic See to the United States of America, exercised such authority in de-

livering a statement on the School Question in fourteen points to the Archbishops assembled in New York November 17, 1892. When Bishop McCloskey of Louisville read its propositions, he honestly confessed to Archbishop Corrigan December 8, 1892: "I fear that, if authoritative, it is the death blow, to a certain extent, of our Catholic schools." Archbishop Corrigan himself wrote Bishop McQuaid the previous day:

Although our advice may not be needed *per se*, still it is at times welcome as preventing blunders. In the present case, all we want is to undo false impressions and thereby avoid harm to souls.

The Bishops of the Province of Cincinnati have framed a collective letter to the Holy Father.

Bp. Gabriels has written in this Province. I have said that I would write, if desired, but would not obtrude my views on this question unsolicited. In a former letter, I took occasion to express the remarkable unanimity of sentiment in the Conference, I. E. of twelve against one.

Bishop McQuaid was much more emphatic in expressing his sentiments, writing Archbishop Corrigan December 13, 1892:

We are all in a nice pickle, thanks to Leo XIII and his delegate.

Just as our arduous work of the last forty years was beginning to bear ample fruit, they arbitrarily upset the whole. If an enemy had done this!

Yesterday an English translation of Mgr. Satolli's address to the Archbishops came to hand. Apparently it was sent from Philadelphia by a priest who has differed with me on the School Question.

It is only a question of time when present Roman Legislation, having wrought incalculable mischief, that we, school-children of the hierarchy, will again receive a lesson in our Catechism from another Italian sent out to enlighten us.

The lessons of Satolli's pamphlet—(*private and confidential*)—do not apply to this diocese of Rochester, where the parochial schools are not only equal, but much superior to the public schools.

The Professor of Faribault, whose communication to the *Christian Union* is published in the last number of the *Catholic Herald*, ought to be translated and sent in large numbers to Rome. Joined to this publication should be extracts from Archbishop Ireland's *Memorial*. It would show the good people over there how shamefully they were led astray by misrepresentations.

Since Thanksgiving Archbishop Corrigan had been "more or less of an invalid, forbidden . . . even to leave the House for the past two weeks." On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception he had gone to Mt. St. Vincent's "for a change of air under the Doctor's directions." It was here that he received Bishop McQuaid's letter of the 13th a week later, to which he replied that day:

I hardly know what to think in regard to the School Question. Our opponents are certainly wide-awake and most active. Nothing escapes their attention and they have a trick of throwing all the blame of publicity on the other side. Certainly some idea of the true state of the question must force itself on the mind of the Holy Father. I have not written to Rome; nor shall I, unless requested to do so. "*Ubi non est auditus, ne offendas sermonem.*" Poor Abbot Smith sent me word this week, confidentially, that all the S. College, except Card. Ledochowski and S. Vanutelli, were on *our* side.

I have done nothing yet regarding Secret Societies for want of leisure. But I intend to obtain all the information possible on the subject of the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and kindred associations and embody it in my Report. As it will go to the H. Office, there is no need of haste. Besides S. Paul asked for a respite of *six months*, within which he hopes to arrange everything to his own satisfaction.

There was considerable justifiable criticism for

the way in which the question of secret societies had been handled in the meetings of the Archbishops in the past years, although this was overshadowed then by the School Question. Under the circumstances Bishop McQuaid warned his people from the pulpit in his Cathedral December 18, 1892, against being misled "by reports, spread freely in the newspapers of the day on the question of parochial and state schools." When Archbishop Ireland also gave a statement to the Public Press, Bishop McQuaid dryly remarked to a reporter of the *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, who came to interview him Monday morning, December 19, 1892:

I am waiting for Archbishop Ireland to tell us, in plain and direct language, what he means by the Faribault plan. I asked this question three months ago and have received no answer. I know how the Archbishop described, in his *Memorial*, the arrangement he had made with the school authorities at Faribault and Stillwater, but the *Chicago Herald*, in its description of said arrangement at Stillwater, and Professor Willis West, in his letter to the *Christian Union* on the Faribault School, differ from the Archbishop in every single point.

Would it not be well for the Archbishop to reply to these two authorities and show a wondering public who is right and who is wrong?

Archbishop Corrigan saw both reports of the sermon and of the interview in the Public Press. He was still at Mt. St. Vincent's, from which he again wrote Bishop McQuaid December 22, 1892, although proposing to go back to the City that afternoon. In this letter he declared:

I have made a mental note of what you say about the Stillwater School as represented in the *Memorial* and in other documents, and will take measures to carry out your suggestion. I notice that you called attention to this in your Sermon last Sunday; but our friends will be too wary to answer your queries.

Several of the Communities in this Diocese are keeping up special prayers for my intention, i. e. that the Holy See may be brought to understand our condition clearly and impartially as regards Catholic Education. Unless Mgr. O'Connell may succeed in precipitating a Decree, I think we have every reason to hope that all will go well. I fear him more than any one else. Leaving New York, he did not even send me a card. "P. & C."—I gave him some messages for Mgr. Satolli. Possibly he preferred not to see me, so as to avoid any question *in re*.

CHICAGO POST CONSPIRACY

By this time the case of Archbishop Ireland appeared so critical that a desperate expedient was adopted to ruin his opponents by charging Archbishop Corrigan "of having engaged in an unlawful conspiracy to weaken or undo the effect of the Pope's decisions in respect to church matters in America, and of having had recourse to methods unbecoming a Bishop, designed to discredit and disgrace Archbishop Ireland and Mgr. Satolli, the papal delegate to America." In connection with the exposure of this alleged "conspiracy," the *Chicago Post*, Sunday, January 8, 1893, published a seven column article of a most venomous character against Archbishop Corrigan in support of Archbishop Ireland. The Archbishop of New York therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid *privately* January 12, 1893:

The traitor in Chicago is Lahiff. I have ascertained this week that the very note of introduction, which first secured his admission to this house, was a *forgery*. There is reason to believe he has been all along in the pay of the other side. What a miserable world!

Many thanks for your manly defense of Miss Edes.

It seems that no effort will be spared to assail me. Mgr. Satolli has already, apparently, prejudged the case. For he refuses to come to S. Agnes.

I would not like to be called to Rome at this season.

But probably our friends will not rest satisfied until they have done their worst. I see they exclude you and every Bishop of the Province from the administration of this Diocese during my deposition and until the appointment of a successor. It would be strange to one not familiar with the tricks of others that a Bishop, not yet proved guilty and presumably innocent until guilt is proved, should be treated as one already judged and *condemned!*

I expect to send a letter to the H. Father on Saturday regarding the School Question.

Bishop McQuaid thought Archbishop Corrigan "needlessly alarmed," as deposition "will not even be talked about except by the St. Paul clique." After thus reassuring the Archbishop, he added in his letter January 13, 1893:

Of course, if you wrote that letter to Lahiffe, it was he who betrayed you . . . As soon as I read the *Chicago Post*, I came to the conclusion that it was Lahiff. There was no more conspiracy against Ireland in that part of the business than there was conspiracy in the *Freeman's Journal* and other papers against you. Don't worry, keep cool, and be watchful.

Bishop McQuaid soon picked up some interesting gossip from a newspaper man who came to Rochester from St. Louis towards the beginning of the next month. He forwarded it to Archbishop Corrigan, writing him February 15, 1893:

I learned from N. N. that Archbishop Ireland spent the week preceding the appearance of the *Chicago Post* Conspiracy Case in Chicago; that the approaching sensation was so well known in newspaper circles that another Chicago paper offered \$500 to Ireland who answered that he had nothing in Chicago, etc. Of course not, he had already disposed of it. A St. Louis paper also tried to get hold of it. The whole truth will come out one of these days.

Meanwhile much better news had reached Archbishop Corrigan the night of February 13 in a registered letter, marked "strictly confidential," of which he hastened to give Bishop McQuaid a summary, writing the next day:

The latest news from Rome . . . was to the effect that H. E. of Baltimore had urged the H. Father to decide the School Question by publishing an Encyclical on the lines of Mgr. Satolli & Mgr. Ireland. The Holy Ghost interposed; the Bishops were ordered to write to Rome to see if, as alleged, it were true that the Episcopate was in favor of Faribaulting. Up to Jan. 30, twenty-eight letters had been received of which twenty-six were on *our* side!

It is likely that Card. Mazzella will be named on the Committee to examine said letters & report.

Card. Vaughan writes that he has spoken to the Prefect of Propaganda in favor of the stand taken by the Majority of American Bishops. He fears for England should the contrary policy prevail.

* * * *

Bp. McDonnell advises a joint letter to the Pope on account of the intrigues of the University people, &c.—I will send draft tomorrow of proposed letter.

Developments in the Chicago Post Conspiracy case and in the School Question naturally preoccupied Archbishop Corrigan's mind. He again therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid February 17, 1893:

It would be very important to obtain proof that \$500 had been offered for the Chicago story.—I have the Doing letters (without asking for them), i. e. those that concern me directly. Please keep this entirely *private*, as a word might spoil all. As you say, all will come out in time.

Bp. Fink wrote me on Monday (Feb. 13) that he had received no notice to write to Rome. I immediately urged him & his neighbor, Dr. Hogan, to write without delay, adducing reasons, &c. Abp. Ryan wrote previously in

the same sense to Bp. Hennessy and about ten days ago I took occasion to acquaint the Vatican, through a sure medium, of the cause of the delay in writing, *in case* no letters from the Province of St. Louis had arrived.—Card. Ledochowski has granted an extension of time *in re*.

* * * *

The appointment of Dr. Rooker as Sec'y of Legation having been made by the "combine" at Washington, the Pope no sooner heard of it than he immediately forebade the execution of the project—much to Dr. R.'s regret.

When Archbishop Corrigan, following Bishop McDonnell's advice, had drafted the joint letter to the Pope for the Bishops of the New York Province, he inclosed in a special letter to them, venturing "to suggest the opportuneness of a joint letter to the Holy Father, in which the Bishops of the Province would take occasion to congratulate His Holiness on the Golden Jubilee of his Episcopate, and at the same time to express our adhesion to his appointment of a permanent Delegate Apostolic to this country." It was only January 21, 1893, that Leo XIII had sent word to the American Hierarchy of the appointment of Archbishop Satolli as the Apostolic Delegate in the United States, expecting the Bishops of the country to receive with pleasure what he had provided for the greater splendor and utility of their Church. Archbishop Corrigan frankly admitted to the Bishops of the New York Province:

In consequence of the unfortunate reception given to our last Provincial letter, I would not venture to make the present suggestion, except for the peculiar circumstances which prevail at this moment, and which seem to require that we vindicate our loyalty and devotion to the Holy See.

If you will kindly give me your judgment on the sub-

ject and also authorize me to attach your signature in case you approve of this letter, I will be much obliged.

The Bishops all approved and so the letter of the Prelates of the New York Province was sent to Rome February 17, 1893, with their congratulations on the Golden Jubilee of Pope Leo's elevation to the episcopate, together with an appreciation of the great deeds of his Supreme Pontificate. At the same time they solemnly declared:

Most willingly obeying your Holiness, we embrace the authority of the Apostolic Delegate with veneration. It is our aim, with united strength and counsel, to make this mission a success, working for concord among Bishops, safeguarding the rights of each, and constituting firmer bonds with the Apostolic See.

At this time the main cause of discord between Bishops in the United States was the address of Monsignor Satolli in the previous meeting of Archbishops in New York. Leo XIII himself freely admitted that American Bishops made known to him their anxiety, either because of the interpretation placed on some of these Propositions, or because of the consequence that might arise therefrom to the loss of souls. When he then asked each Bishop in the country to make known most freely his judgment of the matter in a private letter addressed to himself, some wrote that they found no cause of fear in the Propositions, but others denounced them as a partial abrogation of the School Law, promulgated by the Baltimore Councils, and consequently feared the rise of regrettable disagreements, through varying interpretations of the Propositions, to the detriment of Catholic Schools. Bishop McQuaid belonged to the second group and eagerly seized the chance to give a full and clear criticism of the Propositions, remarking to Archbishop Corrigan:

If all do the same, the Holy Father will know something about the question. Prayers must be telling. All will come right yet. They will not be in good humor in Rome when they learn how they have been deceived.

It was due to representations such as these that the Holy Father, May 31, 1893, maintained in full force the School Law of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore and of the Roman Pontiffs, whether promulgated by them directly or through the Roman Congregations. Leo XIII therefore asked the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States to interpret the Apostolic Delegate's Fourteen Propositions in agreement with the aforesaid School Law of the Church and faithfully to observe it, not forgetting, however, the fact that there were cases, according to the same law, when it was permissible to attend the public school. For Mgr. Satolli himself had declared anent the legislation of the Council of Baltimore:

These decrees, insofar as they give a general rule of action, are to be *faithfully* observed and although the public schools are not to be wholly condemned, for cases can occur, as the Council itself had foreseen, when it may be permitted to attend them, still an effort is to be made every way and with all means to multiply Catholic schools and to equip and perfect them in everything.

When this letter of Pope Leo XIII to the Hierarchy of the United States was printed in the *Rochester Union and Advertiser* June 22, 1893, William Purcell, its editor and a distinguished lay Catholic, declared the plain truth:

There is nothing new in it and it changes nothing. The whole muddle, which it is designed to straighten out by reassertion of what has been authoritatively asserted before, was occasioned by Archbishop Ireland

of Minnesota, who labored under the delusion that he had solved the problem of parochial and public school education—had discovered how to mix oil and water, and who based an elaboration of his supposed discovery, for the information of the Pope, upon a couple of sham schools at Faribault and Stillwater, small towns in Minnesota, which collapsed simultaneously with his return from a visit to Rome.

SCHEMING TROUBLE-MAKERS

The school controversy, which thus ended so satisfactorily to Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid, did not mean the end of scheming by trouble-makers against either. This is evident from Archbishop Corrigan's letter to Bishop McQuaid, October 31, 1893, to whom he announced that many engagements would only allow him to stop off in Rochester between trains on his way to the celebration of Bishop Ryan's Silver Jubilee in Buffalo. He added:

At that time I hope to explain Dr. Burtzell's movements and expectations. I will bring with me the Retracting which he has been ordered by Rome to make, and which he will try to modify.

Dr. Burtzell was apparently being forced to do what Father Lambert had already done. Despite the latter's retraction and appointment to the Parish of Scottsville, he was dissatisfied with the attitude Bishop McQuaid maintained against himself. He also took part in the Silver Jubilee of Bishop Ryan in Buffalo, from which the Apostolic Delegate decided to visit Bishop McQuaid in Rochester. Father Lambert took advantage of these circumstances, as Bishop McQuaid explained in detail to Archbishop Corrigan, November 20, 1893:

Mgr. Satolli arrived in Rochester Friday morning after you left. Lambert joined him in Buffalo and came with him to Rochester. An open carriage and four black

horses were waiting for the Delegate. Lambert took his seat by the side of the D. and rode to the house. After escorting the D. to his room, where I left him for a moment, I was told that L. was in the parlor. I sent him word to leave the house. He refused. I went to the parlor and ordered him out of the house. He again refused and asked to see the D. Pointing to the room where he was, L. was told that, after seeing him, he must then leave. The D. then came to my room and pleaded for L., I still holding my original position. Finally, the D. asked me to see him for a minute and I went out into the Hall where L. was standing. I gave him my ring to kiss, and then told him to leave. L. refused unless D. told him to go. The D. told him to leave. So ended what for a while promised to be a great scandal. In the course of the day the D. tried to get me to relent and to see L. when he came to the house. I told him that, whenever he had business connected with his parish, he could come to see me, but for nothing else and in no other way; that the story was a long one, and that the peace and the unity of the diocese demanded that I should keep L. in his place; that his insinuations that I had inspired Purcell's attack on McGlynn, Burtzell, and Satolli showed L.'s animus toward me. etc.

Everything else passed off satisfactorily. The visit was a short one, but he saw a good deal. He was particularly pleased with the Cathedral, parochial school, and the seminary. He promises to come again. Notwithstanding the Lambert incident, his visit did him good, and the impression made on him was favorable.

He let out to others that many had spoken to him about L. and our relations. Why cannot my brother bishops learn to mind their own business and leave me alone? I do not meddle with them.

Archbishop Corrigan found the Lambert incident very remarkable indeed. He could "understand the desire of effecting reconciliation" but he asked Bishop McQuaid in writing him November 22, 1893: "Ought not some sign of repentance precede?" Then he added some news of his own that seemed to him significant:

Bishop Gabriels and F. Edwards have been most kindly received by the H. Father and are to have another audience on Sunday week. In fact, their cable described the audience as superlatively satisfactory, "*Audientiam optissiman.*" The other side has been relegated to Propaganda and has not yet succeeded in seeing Leo XIII.

Mgr. S. wrote to me for saying that I was surprised he had given letters to Dr. Burtzell. The news was in all the papers.—

Mgr. Satolli is coming here on next Monday, and he invited me to meet him on Sunday in Brooklyn. As I have a bad cold, I think the Doctor will keep me at home.

Mr. Bliss told me he would very soon have a copy of the letter in which application is made for the post of Ambassador to Italy. Perhaps Divine Providence is arranging the collapse of all the efforts of the clique. Fiat!—

N. Y. STATE UNIVERSITY REGENCY

By no means had the efforts of the clique come to an end. Both Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid became painfully aware of this when the vacancy in the *Board of Regents* of the University of the State of New York, caused by the death of Bishop McNierney of Albany, was to be filled. Archbishop Corrigan had been requested by influential parties to ask if Bishop McQuaid would consent to be a candidate for this post. He hoped that the latter would consent and asked him January 18, 1894, to telegraph "yes" on "no." Bishop McQuaid sent the telegram, explaining further in his letter to the Archbishop January 19, 1894:

At first, I was disposed to have nothing to do with regard to this affair, but since it appears that Malone and Lambert are candidates, it becomes my duty to allow my name to be used even if I should meet with defeat. All I care about is to defeat these two.

You have seen what Malone is reported, in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, as saying. A man's worst enemy is always one of his own household.

I expect to go to New York the end of next week to be on hand for the 28th.

Ought not Bp. McDonnell to bring to the notice of the Delegate what Malone says about parochial schools, etc.

The very next day the Archbishop, who was not very well, had his Secretary, the Reverend J. H. Connelly, reply to Bishop McQuaid's letter, giving him additional information:

Mr. George Bliss is interested very much in the Regency matter & is delighted to know that you are willing to allow the use of your name. He spoke in most complimentary terms of you & said very characteristically: "Leave the matter to me and I think I can gun it."

Regarding Fr. Malone, it is the intention of Bishop McDonnell to take action later on. He has his interviews & other information concerning him, but considers it prudent to wait until the Regency question is settled, as any action at the present time might be calculated to array the opponents of the Church in stronger line around him. He has no intention of letting the matter drop, but will bide his time.

This prudent policy did not prove effective, as Bishop McQuaid learned some time later when the Republican Mayor of Rochester, Mr. Curran, returned from a visit in Albany. The Bishop then informed Archbishop Corrigan:

The prospect there is that Malone will get the election for Regent. His friends, and they include all the clerical cranks of the State, have been working heaven and earth against me. Lambert is working for him.

Archbishop Corrigan obtained similar information from other sources than that contained in Bishop

McQuaid's letter which was received the morning of March 24, 1894. The previous day Brother Justin, whose shoulder had been dislocated in an accident, had sent the Archbishop a confidential messenger with several confidential letters and telegrams regarding the Regency. The Archbishop then wrote Bishop McQuaid:

The messenger left here to call on Mr. Platt and promised to let me know the result of the interview. Thus far no news has come.

As both Mr. Depew and Mr. Haven assured me that all was favorable, I felt no concern in the premises. This impression was confirmed by the fact that I found the cranks were working for Nilan—having apparently abandoned Malone. A Republican politician, named Platt, of Poughkeepsie, approached me recently in the interests of Fr. Nilan, whence I inferred that the clique had put Fr. Malone aside.

I wrote immediately on the receipt of your letter to Messrs. Haven, Depew, and George Bliss, sending all the notes by hand to ensure prompt delivery. I do not know what else can be done.

The whole celebration in St. Peter's Church, Poughkeepsie, on Passion Sunday, was a *fiasco*. The Delegate gave the Rector a piece of his mind very plainly on two separate occasions in my presence. He must have been thoroughly disgusted and his eyes were opened to the character of the company. Fr. Lambert was there, but did not come near me; Fr. Phelan of St. Louis was invited and the host said, "It was the wish of my heart to invite Dr. McGlynn," but he refrained.

Here it is question of some of the clique that were working against Bishop McQuaid for Father Malone. In fact, a special dispatch from Albany to the *New York Herald*, March 27, 1894, gave the news that "Archbishop Ireland has written letters, concluded in the strongest language, in favor of Father Malone, and the adherents of Father Lambert have

spread broadcast, through the Legislature extracts from the writings of Bishop McQuaid on the Public School Question." The next day the news of an overwhelming vote for Father Malone in the Republican caucus was given to the public. When the Reverend Sylvester Malone of Brooklyn was then elected as Regent, the *New York Sun*, after careful analysis of the event, called it plainly an act of hostility to the Catholic Church. The *Syracuse Standard*, although a Republican paper, declared that "the legislature went sadly amiss," as the candidate to be chosen was to be representative of the Catholic Church and the choice of Malone "was to affront rather than honor the Catholic Church." The same day that the *Rochester Union and Advertiser* printed these appreciations of the election, March 31, 1894, Bishop McQuaid wrote Archbishop Corrigan:

It is all important to find out all about the outside clerical meddlers in the affairs of this State. Archbp. Ireland is one, but there are others. I shall not be surprised to learn that among them are some of the University professors. It is just what O'Gorman would do.

While we were thinking only of the leaders among the Republicans, the others were busy getting pledges for Malone and Lambert among the county members. The latter was playing into the hands of the former—anything to beat McQuaid.

The defeat did not disappoint me, I expected it. I was sorry for the honor of the Church by the election of such a man as Malone. Hamilton Fish showed much feeling against you. Perhaps it is because he is Senator from Nilan's district.

Bp. Ryan may say what he pleases. He never does anything directly. It is always through others. Cronin and Mahany, editor and sub-editor of the *Catholic Union and Times*, engineered the campaign for Lambert in the interest of Malone to defeat McQuaid. The Bishop knew what was going on and permitted it, just as he per-

mitted and permits the attacks on me. He always plays the innocent.

Archbp. Kain has a great deal of backbone, but how far will he be sustained? When Phelan makes the row he is sure to make and there is talk of schism, he may be deserted, as Foley in the Kolosinski case and yourself in the McGlynn affair.

I am to be in New York for H. Redeemer celebration on the 22nd. of April.

I saw in a paper that Ireland was to address a Temperance Convention in Staten Island. Give him to understand that he cannot receive favors at your hands after what has happened.

Be cautious in what you say at the University meeting. You may have occasion to say something later.

It was not easy to get the evidence in this case of the Regency in the University of the State of New York. As late as June 23, 1894, Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid of the difficulties he encountered in this task besides some other information, writing:

Lieut. Governor Sheehan called to say that the letter desired from Albany could not be had. He showed me two letters, one from Mr. Malby to Senator O'Connor and the other from the Senator to himself. Mr. M. recited in his letter that Abp. Ireland's communication was a personal and private one, and therefore could not in honor be made public without his consent. The Senator's letter simply stated that he had not succeeded in procuring a copy of Abp. Ireland's note.

Mr. Sheehan suggested that Assemblyman O'Grady of your City, as an intimate friend of Hamilton Fish, could obtain from the latter the perusal of any documents sent by the clique to that gentleman.

Ex-Mayor Grant also called, but he had nothing to communicate further than what I have already said above.

The Bp. of Vincennes, who arrived this morning and spent a few minutes here before starting for Philadel-

phia & Baltimore, told me, *confidentially*, that he had given a written report of the whole Malone Board of Regents incident to the H. Father. The latter seized all the points; inquired had the Bp. met St. Paul in New York, to which an affirmative reply was given, and whether Mgr. Satolli was mixed up in the question, to which the Bp. gave a negative answer. Messrs. Sheehan & Grant have a plan of their own, of which I will speak when we meet next Saturday in Albany.

* * * *

The Holy Father was very kind to Bp. Chatard. There seems to be a lull just now in Roman affairs.

Mgr. Satolli does not expect to go to Albany. He was very cordial this week, they say.

NEW STATE CONSTITUTION

Trouble developed in 1894 with the drafting of a new State Constitution and with the campaign for the adoption of that Constitution and for the election of State Officers. Anti-Catholic organizations, such as the American Protestant Association, the League for the Protection of American Institutions, etc., concentrated their efforts upon the New York State Constitutional Convention to put into the revised Constitution a provision prohibiting the State or any subdivision of the State from giving any kind of aid, "by appropriation, payment of services, expenses, or in any other manner" to any institution, society, or undertaking which is wholly or in part under sectarian or ecclesiastical control. The prohibition was to extend both to education and charity, although these things were apportioned to two separate Committees, the first to the *Committee on Education* and the second to the *Committee on Charities and Charitable Institutions*. The complicated character of the new provision made necessary a joint meeting of the Committee on Educa-

tion, Charities, Taxation, and Legislative Powers to discuss it June 6, 1894, being worded in the files of the members as follows:

No law shall be passed respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall the state or any county, city, town, village, or other civil division, use its property or credit, or any money raised by taxation or otherwise, or authorize either to be used, for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding, by appropriation, payment of services, expenses, or in any other manner, any church, religious denominations, or religious society or undertaking, which is wholly, or in part, under sectarian or ecclesiastical control.

Colonel Bliss had written the Chairman of the Committee on Charities, Edward Lauterbach, that Mr. Frederick Coudert, who was expected to be present that day, or the next day, in opposition to this new provision in the revised Constitution, was unable to come, and so it became necessary to confine the hearing for the present to those favoring its adoption and to postpone the hearing of those opposed.

Meanwhile the members of the Charity Committee proposed to visit the charitable institutions themselves to see what they were doing with their own eyes. They began this visitation June 12, 1894, with the Bellevue Hospital, Male and Female Hospitals, Hospitals for Incurables, Almshouses, Randall's Infant Hospital and the House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents, and the New York Catholic Protectory. The only adverse criticism in the course of that day's visitation, according to the *New York Times* report, was directed against the Randall's Island House of Refuge, for which an act of the Legislature had been required to compell it to give freedom of religious profession and worship to its

Catholic inmates. Here the report declared that "evidences of discipline and industry were found, but the delinquents had a hard look that did not encourage sympathy." Mr. William Purcell, who reprinted the *New York Times* report, observed in the *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, June 14, 1894:

This account of the first day's visit of the committees to the "sectarian" charities of New York does not seem to indicate that they will be brought to the way of thinking of the bigots of the A. P. A. and L. P. A. I., who have been misrepresenting the character and conduct of those institutions to the Constitutional Convention . . . We are inclined to think that the committees will do their own thinking, which will not be in the way of those who would discourage and make invidious distinctions between private charities, especially those which care for the young, because they afford opportunity for inmates to exercise their constitutional right to freedom of religious profession and worship.

Mr. Purcell was not a bad prophet despite petitions addressed to the Constitutional Convention and signed by thousands in favor of the L. P. A. I. article against any aid for sectarian institutions. Nevertheless, the result reached was really a compromise. State aid for denominational schools was sacrificed, and State aid for all kinds of private charity was declared admissible. However, even the provision in the newly revised constitution was considerably modified from its proposed form, as Article IX, Section 4 decrees:

Neither the State nor any subdivision thereof shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in and or maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution, of learning, wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet is taught.

While this article did not allow any public money to be expended in aid or maintenance of any denominational or parochial school, it did allow public money to be expended in the examination and inspection of such a school. In other words, the State was willing to exercise this control over denominational or parochial schools, but unwilling to contribute anything to their maintenance, although they made a most important contribution to its welfare. The liberal provision for charity by the State of New York in this same constitution was much more in keeping with the real spirit of American liberty than this restricted educational system in its stepmother treatment of popular education. For Article VIII, Section 14 not only allowed public money to be expended "for the care, support, and maintenance," but also for the "secular education of inmates of orphan asylums, homes for dependent children or correctional institutions, whether under private or public control." Thus there was a real lack of consistent logic between the two articles of the new constitution. State aid was made possible for the secular education of defective, dependent, and delinquent children in religious charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, and reformatory institutions, but impossible for the secular education of normal children in parochial and other denominational schools. When the time came to vote for or against the adoption of this new revised constitution, Catholics in New York State were normally inclined to vote against it.

A. P. A. (AMERICAN PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION)

Catholics in New York State also had reason to find fault with the Republican Party in its election campaign. Within the two preceding years the *American Protestant Association* (A. P. A.), secret

and oath-bound, had again come into being in the United States with the sworn purpose: 1st. "to ban all Catholics from public office upon the ground that, being Catholics, they cannot be loyal citizens of the United States"; 2nd. "to prevent Catholics from earning their living, on the ground that they will thereby prevent Protestants from getting employment." Under these circumstances a pamphlet was issued by a committee of liberal-minded representative clergymen of all denominations. It contained an important statement, *The Supreme Issue*, by a prominent Republican of Rochester, Father T. A. Hendrick, who later became Bishop of Cebu in the Philippine Islands. He explained the stand of Catholics on the Supreme Issue that had developed in the Republican Party of the State:

A number of Catholic Republicans, of whom the writer was one, others being John T. McDonough of Albany, N. Y.; Patrick Egan, ex-minister to Chili; General Kerwin and General O'Beirne of New York, Richard Kerens of St. Louis, a member of the Republican National Committee, went to the Republican State Convention at Saratoga and urged the leaders of the convention, partly because it was a patriotic thing to do, but still more because we wished for the success of the Republican cause, to condemn this anti-American movement. We urged that the rights of 75,000 Republican voters were imperilled and that every consideration of justice and policy demanded the action for which we pleaded.

The representations of the Catholic Republicans were given a full and courteous hearing. A resolution was prepared by General Tracy of Brooklyn. It read as follows:

"The Republicans of New York stand firmly on the principles of our national Constitution, that all citizens of the United States, maintaining legal allegiance to their government, shall enjoy perfect political equality

and they will consent to no discrimination of rights based on differences of religious faith."

We were told by the Republican leaders that it would be adopted, but it failed of adoption in the committee of resolutions, presided over by Sereno E. Payne of Auburn, N. Y., by a vote of thirty-one to one, as we are informed by a member of the committee.

* * * *

... The standard-bearer of the Republican Party, Mr. Morton, asserts this principle. It would have been worthy and characteristic of the man to have gone further and denounced the vile conspiracy. But he has distinctly failed to embrace the opportunity.

It will be difficult to persuade intelligent Catholics that the assertion of their rights as citizens should be held in abeyance until the success of any political party is assured.

We can look forward, with confidence, to a speedy settlement of this question. It is the history of the United States and of each particular State, that the sober second thought of the people will right the wrong which a vast number of the people are now suffering. It is a matter of history that any party, that openly or tacitly gives aid and comfort to the sworn enemies of religious freedom, is destined to sure and speedy defeat.

What the leaders of the Republican Party had refused to do, the Democrats, in their Convention, did openly and forcibly in the most emphatic language. Under these circumstances, the Bishops of New York State met early in October and decided that they would not interfere, but leave it to the people to exercise their own judgment and intelligence. Bishop McQuaid explained the reason for the decision later to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of Propaganda:

Our decision was arrived at on motives of prudence and expediency. We did not feel warranted in departing from our past policy of abstaining from politics, al-

though we all felt that the Republican Party deserved a strong rebuke.

SCANDALOUS MEDDLING

This meant nothing to Archbishop Ireland who had come to Philadelphia at the beginning of October for the Archbishops' meeting. From there he went to New York City. Here his conduct became so offensive that Archbishop Corrigan could not refrain from addressing privately a protest to Cardinal Gibbons November 15, 1894:

Our Catholic population is indignant at the procedure of the Abp. of St. Paul who, they say, was imported by the Republican Party to aid them during the recent election. Even Bp. Potter inquired of me recently if it were not quite contrary to ecclesiastical decorum for a Bishop to deliver a pronunciamento to those who were not his subjects, while he himself was in the Diocese of a brother Bishop?

If such a state of things continue, what is to become of Diocesan jurisdiction? Fancy, e. g., my going to St. Paul, staying there three weeks at the Ryan House, staying three weeks without calling on the Archbishop, then parading myself at political meetings and giving Abp. Ireland's subjects pointed advice on the way they ought to vote.

Bishop McQuaid had already written Archbishop Corrigan November 7, 1894, that something ought to be done in the Ireland case, but what was the puzzle, adding:

He has no sense of the propriety of things. Unfortunately, he has with him the Delegate, the Cardinal, and hosts of others, including many of our Catholic newspapers. The Bishops of the Province might take action, but we cannot depend on Buffalo. Burke, Ludden, & Gabriels meet at Utica next Sunday, but I cannot be there, as I have confirmation for that day.

Bishop McQuaid finally decided to take the law into his own hands; he publicly painted Archbishop Ireland's conduct in its real colors in an address he delivered November 25, 1894, in his own Cathedral, concluding with the words:

I also wish it to be understood that this meddling in the political affairs of another state by Archbishop Ireland is altogether exceptional,—as he is the only Bishop who thus interfered with others, that this scandal deserved rebuke as public as the offense committed. I sincerely hope that the Church will be spared its repetition.

The charge hit the mark. Ireland and Keane were in Atlantic City the Sunday the sermon was delivered in Rochester. Bishop McQuaid later informed Archbishop Corrigan that "they were hopping mad and took no pains to conceal their anger." Mgr. Satolli's ire was also aroused. He sent the sermon to the Pope and an admonition to Bishop McQuaid. The Apostolic Delegate dwelt "on the wrong of attacking, in this public manner, an Archbishop." Bishop McQuaid, however, dryly remarked: "He does not seemed distressed by the notorious and scandalous behavior of so exalted a personage as an Archbishop." The Delegate's letter received no reply; Bishop McQuaid preferred to wait until he heard from Rome, observing to Archbishop Corrigan December 12, 1894: "I may get an opportunity of telling them some other things if much provoked."

The expected word came from Rome in due time. Cardinal Rampolla, Secretary of State, wrote Bishop McQuaid how painful and regretful the occurrence seemed to the Holy Father, and Propaganda expressed to Archbishop Corrigan the Pope's surprise and fear "lest discord and division prevail in the episcopal body." The Archbishop of New

York was therefore commissioned "to obtain some kind of reparation that may prevent friction between [Rochester] and St. Paul." He was therefore to invite Bishop McQuaid to a conference in New York City and report the result to Rome. Bishop McQuaid saw no reason for going to New York, and he expressed to Cardinal Rampolla his sorrow at having caused the Holy Father any pain, but he saw no other way out of the difficulty that was entirely of Archbishop Ireland's making. He promised the Cardinal Secretary of State that he would detail the motives of his attack on Archbishop Ireland to the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Ledochowski, who could then explain the whole matter to the Holy Father. That gave time to write at length to Bishop McQuaid, to whom Archbishop forwarded needed information January 12, 1895:

Regarding the Abp. of St. Paul, would it not be well to note that he was in New York from about Oct. 12 to Nov. 26—and that during all that time he never came near this house, nor ever sent a card whilst dining and constantly visiting the malcontents, such as Ducey, e. g., Nilan, Burtzell, &c., he certainly did not promote obedience or respect towards the Diocesan authorities. He spent three days at Poughkeepsie, passing as a Priest, divesting himself of Cross, ring, and purple cassock and assuming a false name.

In a few days I expect to be able to give more details about the gift or *loan* of many thousand dollars made by the Republican Party for services rendered. The files of the *N. Y. Herald* give his pronunciamientos and studied interviews. I am told that a much more extreme, and to use the very word by which it was characterized, a *brutal* harangue against the Democratic Party was spoken in St. Paul before the election. The loan(?) affair is talked of pretty freely in business circles. Two of the parties present, Schiff (a Jewish banker) and Gen. Thomas, spoke of it to a friend of mine who will obtain further details. None but Republican purses were

allowed to be opened. Furthermore, the contributors were necessarily, (by Abp. I's wishes) all non-Catholics. Chauncey Depew wrote the circular; J. Kennedy Tod of Wall St. gave the use of his office, &c.—More anon.

Bishop McQuaid replied to this letter January 26, 1895, asking the Archbishop for some more information:

Please let me know the date of the Chicago conspiracy case, published in the *Chicago Sunday Post*. Let me know also if there is anything more definite about the check to Ireland, given at that dinner in the Brevoort House.

The case that I want to make out is that these men in N. Y., under Ireland's leadership, are persecuting you to death; that I resorted to a public attack to unmask a desperate conspiracy and compel attention; that, if Ireland's irregular proceedings be not put a stop to, there will be an uprising of the laity that will end—etc., etc.

I shall be able to write to Card. L. what I would not care to write to Card. R.

Meanwhile concoctors of false dispatches from Rome tried to divert attention from Archbishop Ireland's misconduct to alleged punishment of Bishop McQuaid for the attack on the Archbishop of St. Paul. When one of these was shown to Bishop McQuaid, he informed a *Union and Advertiser* Reporter January 25, 1895:

The whole is a tissue of Falsehood and misrepresentation from beginning to end and is manufactured by the same clerical clique with headquarters in New York and neighborhood, aided by agents in other parts of the United States and Europe, that has been tormenting and persecuting the Archbishop of New York for nearly three years. In all they say about me the wish is father of the thought.

This did not prevent the circulation of even worse

rumors, amounting to Bishop McQuaid's suspension and deposition. He therefore again remarked to a Reporter of the same newspaper five days later:

I know nothing about the statements contained in these press dispatches. This much I will say for the benefit of the diocese. I have not been retired; I have not been deposed; I have not been suspended; I have not been summoned to Rome. That is all.

When Archbishop Corrigan was interviewed, he admitted that the case was before Propaganda to which he himself had written some notes on request, but he declared that there was no cause for the removal of Bishop McQuaid, asserting that "an admonition to one party or to both meets all precedents." The Apostolic Delegation was also approached at Washington for news of papal censures against Bishop McQuaid, but Mgr. Satolli's Secretary, Dr. Rooker, declared:

That is the first I have heard of it. Certainly nothing has gone from this legation or passed through it in regard to Bishop McQuaid. The story may or may not be true. If such a censure had been sent from Rome, it would not necessarily have passed through Archbishop Corrigan. This legation has been established to decide questions in dispute in the Catholic Church in America. In the case of Bishop McQuaid's remarks on Archbishop Ireland, there is nothing in dispute. If such a case is taken up at all, it would be merely a matter of discipline.

This dispatch, containing this statement of Dr. Rooker appeared in the *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, January 31, 1895. Here it furnished an occasion for editorial comment by a zealous Catholic layman and ardent Democrat leader, Mr. William Purcell:

The Rev. Dr. Rooker is quite correct when he say "In the case of Bp. McQuaid's remarks on Archbishop Ire-

land, there is nothing in dispute." Nothing—absolutely nothing.

Archbishop Ireland spent a month or six weeks in New York before and after the election, not departing therefrom until Thanksgiving Day, and the record of what he said and did is spread out in the columns of the daily newspapers of that city.

Before the election, when he was posing as an ecclesiastic to influence votes, he was present at a Fifth Avenue Hotel and wherever he thought he could do most good to the Party he was serving. After election, when he was seeking to borrow money, he hid himself away at the Brevoort House, unregistered, *incognito*.

This is also matter of newspaper record, as is the fact that he obtained the loan. The *New York Herald*, of November 30, stated the loan at \$500,000, and said, upon information, that the money was to be used "in paying the indebtedness of the Archdiocese of St. Paul." That specific statement Archbishop Ireland denied, but he never denied the fact that he made a large loan to be used in private speculation and from party leaders. Honorable Chauncey M. Depew, who is likely to be a candidate of one of the great parties for president in 1896, said in an interview with the *New York Herald*, published in that paper of December 1:

"This is entirely a confidential matter and I care to say very little about it, as all information should come from the Archbishop. I can say this, however, I know Archbishop Ireland just as I know Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop Potter. I regard him as a patriotic American. And when I learned that he needed money and had excellent security to offer, I did all I could to help him. There was a meeting, but it was not at my office. It was down town. The men, who were present, had come on the invitation of one of the Archbishop's friends, but it was not I. We talked of the necessity of the loan, of the amount of money required, and then examined the securities, found them all that could be desired and advanced the money which, by the way, does not amount to half a million."

... Now another thing with reference to this distinguished ecclesiastic from far west Minnesota, who

comes down here to the City and State of New York to tell people how to vote.

He has figured at Rome as the founder of a school system, called the Faribault System, in which religion was sufficiently present to satisfy the Catholic conscience and sufficiently absent to satisfy all other kinds of conscience, and which was to become the great American School System. About the time he returned from Rome, the people of the little town of Faribault and of a neighboring town called Stillwater, where Archbishop Ireland's system prevailed, wiped it out of existence, and nothing has been heard of it from that day to this.

That, however, is not what we are coming at, but this: At the election of last November in this state, the Party, in whose service Archbishop Ireland enlisted, had framed a new constitution which was adopted and is now the fundamental law of the State and will be for many years to come, if not forever, is a provision, condemning and placing out of question in this State anything like Archbishop Ireland's Faribault system. We are not here discussing the merits of the system, or of the amendment of our State Constitution prohibiting it, but simply showing the gross stultification of the would-be western ecclesiastical instructor of the citizenship of New York in the line of political action.

How dangerous was the intervention is patent from the closeness of the vote on the revised constitution, 410,687 voting for it and 327,402 against it, giving only a majority of 83,295 in favor of it. Bishop McQuaid sent a marked copy of the *Union and Advertiser* editorial to Archbishop Corrigan who received it the morning of February 5, 1895. The same day the Archbishop sent Bishop McQuaid some more information *in re*:

On Wednesday last I saw Gen. Butterfield, but he had nothing of importance to communicate and had not preserved the Circular inviting him to the meeting in favor of Abp. Ireland.

Gen. James promised on Monday last week to obtain authentic confirmation, but he has been ill, and I waited

in vain for news from day to day. Yesterday I found that he was better, and he promised to see Chauncey this morning, and let me know the results at once. He said the circular was written by Gen. J. R. O'Beirne (Catholic, Republican), but printed to /be/ sent out as Chauncey's. Gen. J. saw the original MSS. & recognized the writing. O'B. is in Washington, but I have written, asking him to call when he comes to see his family.—

Another party, Thos. F. Ryan—also promised to make inquiries, but he too has been on the sick list; still I expect to see him tomorrow morning. He has his information from Gen. Thomas, one of the party invited to contribute to the funds.

Abp. Katzer & Mgr. Zeinuger—who were here on Friday—told how Mgr. Ireland paid several bills of long standing in Milwaukee after his return from the East. Previously he paid neither principal nor interest, and gave no answer to letters from the Bank and from private parties asking for payment.

In Bishop Becker and Abp. Katzer, both on their way to Rome, we will have two good exponents of the truth. Both go prepared to make a full statement of facts to the Holy Father. Abp. K. will see the German Cardinals, Steinhuber & Melchers as well as F. Hughes, S. J., from Milwaukee, now in the Vatican Library, and others and learn how to proceed.—

As soon as Gen. James reports, I will write again. Archbishop Corrigan did not wait as long as that before writing again. The very next day, February 6, 1895, he had enough additional news to make him send the following letter to Bishop McQuaid:

My friend, Mr. T. F. R. has had several conversations with Gen. Thomas, as circumstances permitted, and has made up his mind, from the answers received, that Gen. Thomas looks upon his contribution or subscription of \$5,000 as a gift to our western friend. *Externally* the affair has the appearance of a purely business transaction,—a *sale of land*. It seems that Mgr. I. came to New York by request of Mr. Lowery of St. Paul who is largely interested in Horse Railroads in that city. He was

here also in the interest of Hill who is also engaged in similar enterprises—Horse R. R. Co. Hill is a Democrat and Lowery a Republican. They have all managed the transaction so cleverly that politics do not come prominently to the surface.

Thomas	subscribed \$5,000
C. M. Depew	“ “
J. Kennedy Tod	“ “

and others to the amount of \$40,000 about. Other amounts were subscribed both in St. Louis and in Detroit.

It does not appear that Gov. Morton's partners took any of the stock.

Gen. Thomas is now absent from the city, but my friend will continue to chaff him and investigate matters further. For reasons of prudence direct questions cannot be asked, or prolonged or detailed inquiries made; now and then a word is dropped, and the various items so gathered are collated, and the story obtained.

Should Gen. Thomas not call soon, I will go to his office and inquire.

Bishop McQuaid was, of course, most anxious to get to the bottom of this business in order to incorporate the matter into his letter to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of Propaganda. Archbishop Corrigan, however, could not make the progress he desired in getting the evidence together in New York. He therefore wrote Bishop McQuaid February 21-22, 1895:

As yet no news has come from Gen. James. He has been invited to accompany me to the Protectory tomorrow, and I have promised to dine with him and Mrs. James next Sunday evening, so that in a few days, at latest, we will know something more *in re*.

Monday's mail brought me a few lines from George Bliss, enclosing a slip from the *Italie* on the Ireland incident. This I sent to Mr. Dana with a *private* note, from which he made an editorial in the *Sun* yesterday,

entitled "False Stories." I was surprised to see the article, but it will do no harm, as too many readers are apt to be misled by the lies in the "reptile Press."

In today's *Sun* I notice a paragraph to the effect that the rebels of the Epiphany have informed Dr. Burtzell they can do /no/ more in the way of restoring him to his old Parish and have sent him all the papers in the case. Mgr. Satolli has also informed them he will leave the Doctor to his own unaided efforts in that direction.

Feb. 22

Gen. James was unable to go to the Protectory today on account of a heavy cold, but expects to see F. Connolly and me on Sunday.

Mr. Gerry says we must be very watchful about the composition of the new State Board of Charities.

Even the previous month Bishops of the State had been concerned with the composition of that Board, particularly with the choice of a candidate for the position of State Commissioner of Charities, as Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid January 11, 1895:

Bp. Burke has submitted the name of Mr. McDonough, Bp. McDonnell, Mr. Chas. A. Hoyt, Republicans both; Bp. Ryan, Ex-Judge Lewis, also Rep.; I, Mr. David McClure, Democrat.

When the names are all in, some prominent layman will see Gov. Morton.

The very next morning Bishop McDonnell of Brooklyn sailed for Egypt and Palestine, planning to be in Rome on his way back in April and to be back home about June. When Archbishop Corrigan that day sent Bishop McQuaid this news, he added:

Next Tuesday there will be a meeting, at Mr. Gerry's office, of Prevention of Cruelty, of the State Board of Charities, when an opportunity will be given various Institutions, through their representatives, to make ob-

servations on the new rules devised for the reception and maintenance, &c.—of the inmates in such institutions. Mr. Gerry sent me word this morning of such meeting.—Suggesting that Mr. Coudert, on account of his many good qualities and his freedom from affiliation with Tammany, would be a good representative for us. I will ask him to act for us accordingly.

Meanwhile Bishop McQuaid was working upon his great letter against Archbishop Ireland for Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of Propaganda. Without waiting for the final evidence in the money transaction of the Archbishop of St. Paul which Archbishop Corrigan had promised him, he finished his letter for Rome in nineteen pages quarto, declaring amongst a host of other things: "After the election, a very large sum of money was apparently loaned, but really given by grateful Republicans to Archbishop Ireland to help him out of his financial difficulties, occasioned by his speculation in lands and railroad stocks." Later Archbishop Dowling of St. Paul denied that Archbishop Ireland ever speculated in railroad stocks. However, when Bishop McQuaid sent a copy of the long letter to Archbishop Corrigan, he remarked:

I have spoken very freely, and I think it will set them athinking. There is more said than is written down. It may lead to further enquiry, I refer them to Bishop McDonnell and Archbishop Katzer for additional information on certain points. Whatever they may say of me and my sermon, I think that St. Paul will get a good lecture and a warning to mind his own business.

The text of the long letter reached Archbishop Corrigan the afternoon of February 27, 1895. He hardly needed to tell Bishop McQuaid what he wrote him the next day in its regard:

I read its contents with great and absorbing interest.

You have certainly presented a strong case and given abundant food for thought and further inquiry.

From Rome I hear that Card. Vaughan says the former letter was the mildest of the mild and was only sent *pro forma*.

I have seen Gen. James twice lately at his office and at his quarters in Murray Hill Hotel. He has not yet been able to solve the mystery, but says this: "It was a loan, if Abp. I could pay it; and a gift, if he could not pay." He will follow up the matter until the truth is reached. He expects that Chauncey will drop in some day when not very busy; and as soon as he begins to talk, the whole story will come out.

* * * *

You have probably seen that Dr. Burtzell declined to appeal to Rome for reinstatement. I hope the question will now be set at rest.

I am curious to know what the Prefect will say on the score of my health enfeebled by worriment.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN PUBLIC CHARITIES

Bishop McQuaid's exposure of the persecution of Archbishop Corrigan by his enemies in the long letter to Propaganda was so effective that it was peremptorily brought to an end. However, there were other reasons for worriment in the hostility then manifested against Catholic institutions of benevolence. On this account Archbishop Corrigan told his Secretary, Father J. N. Connolly, to write Bishop McQuaid, which he did March 20, 1895:

A Bill has been introduced in the Assembly (Bill No. 1528) which has been referred to Mr. O'Grady, the Chairman of the Committee. It provides that henceforth there shall be no obligation on the part of the State to pay to the New York Catholic Protectory and all similar institutions a *per capita* allowance, which they have hitherto enjoyed.

This, of course, if passed, would be ruinous to us, and

his Grace earnestly begs you to have the kindness to see Mr. O'Grady and have him keep the bill in committee as long as possible so that it may not be heard of any more.

While the newly revised New York State Constitution allowed the State to make such payments, it did not make them obligatory. There was evidently a movement in progress not only to cut off religious schools from public money, but also Catholic institutions of welfare. Another phase in this anti-Catholic movement is described in a letter written from the Vicar General's Office in New York City by Joseph F. Mooney. He informed Bishop McQuaid March 22, 1895:

In the absence of the Archbishop, I presume—as it is a matter of immediate and pressing importance—to write you in reference to Senate Bill 441—Assembly 277. The object of this bill is to separate the present Dep. of Charities and Corrections of this city into two separate departments, one of Charities, the other of Corrections—this is its pretended interest of reform, but the real purpose and motive of those behind the bill is one of hostility to the interests of our Catholic children.

The bill has already been reported to the Senate by the Committee of which Senator Parsons is Chairman. The fate of the measure is, as I am informed, almost entirely in his hands. It has been suggested that, if you would let him know what your sentiments are concerning this bill, he would, in all probability, be guided in his action towards it accordingly. May I ask you to do this, as those, at whose request I am writing, are convinced that there is question here of protecting our rights as Catholics.

FALSE LIBERALISM

If the failure of these bills to become law relieved the mind of Archbishop Corrigan from anxiety, it was much comforted also later in the year when the so-called liberalism of Archbishop Ireland and oth-

ers was checked by papal opposition to Congresses of Religion in which Catholics and non-Catholics joined as they had in the Parliament of Religion in Chicago at the time of its World's Fair. Leo XIII, writing the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Satolli, September 18, 1895, declared it "more advisable for Catholics to hold their assemblies apart . . . with open audience to all, also to those separated from the Catholic Church." At the same time he commended the Paulists to the Bishops for preaching to "dissenting brethren, both to enlighten them on Catholic dogmas and to answer their objections to the same." The papal letter occasioned the *Civiltà Cattolica*, December 15, 1895, to denounce the *Neopelagianism* that it alleged to have been the inspiration in America for the organization of parliaments of religion. Bishop McQuaid thought the article in the *Civiltà* so opportune that he advised its translation for publication in the *New York Sun* inasmuch as "our so-called Catholic papers publish nothing that seems to reflect on Ireland." He wrote this to Archbishop Corrigan January 15, 1896, and urged the matter again in writing him ten days later:

I sent you a copy of the *Civiltà*. After reading what it has to say about the new heresy, if you think it worth while, you might have Bliss or some one else see Dana and find out if he cares to give it in the *Sun*.

The *Civiltà* is a quasi-official organ of the Pope and therefore has much weight. Such an article helps to cure the foolish notions growing every day among our priests and liberal lay Catholics. If the *Sun* were to give what the *Civiltà* says, some of our papers might repeat it and thus spread the truth.

Closely associated with the so-called liberal policies of Archbishop Ireland was the Rector of the Catholic University at Washington, Bishop Keane,

A change there also seemed significant to watchful eyes. For Leo XIII informed Bishop Keane September 15, 1896, that his "administration now comes to an end and that another rector is to be appointed." He was given the choice either to remain in America or come to Rome. The Holy Father promised him a metropolitan see in the United States in case American Bishops elected him to one. If, however, he preferred to come to Rome, the Pope offered him a position among the consultors of the Congregation of Studies and of Propaganda. Bishop Keane wrote Leo XIII, September 29, 1896, that he chose to remain in America without any official position whatsoever, in tranquility and peace. These developments led Bishop McQuaid to write Archbishop Corrigan October 3, 1896:

The news from Rome is astounding. The failure of the University is known in Rome at last, and the blame is thrown on Keane. Much of it is due to him, but other causes are there. These causes are irremediable now. The failure implicates the Holy Father who was made to father the undertaking from the beginning.

What collapses on every side! Gibbons, Ireland, and Keane !!! They were cock of the walk for a while and dictated to the country and thought to run our dioceses for us. They may change their policy. They can never repair the harm done in the past.

Father Fedigan was here ten or twelve days ago. I did not meet him, being out of town at the time. A priest told me that his object in coming to Rochester was to bring about a *rapprochement* between Keane and myself. This is best obtained by each keeping far from the other. I imagine, however, that he had in view a different purpose. It seems to me that he wished to bespeak my good will in favor of Martinelli. This was unnecessary, as Martinelli, or any other Delegate is sure to have my best wishes and my help.

There had been a change in the Apostolic Delega-

tion. When the news came to him, Bishop McQuaid was able to state that "Cardinal Satolli will leave America, knowing that his best friends today are those whom he opposed in the beginning." Archbishop Corrigan's suggestion to give the first permanent Apostolic Delegate, on the eve of his departure, a testimonial of respect and esteem met with Bishop McQuaid's most hearty approval. He wrote therefore September 19, 1896: "The meeting to show respect to Card. Satolli on the eve of his departure is very proper, and I shall make a point of being on hand." While the succession in the Apostolic Delegation had been provided, the vacancy in the diocese of Buffalo in the New York Province, occasioned by the death of Bishop Ryan April 10, 1896, needed to be filled, and there was question of the promotion of Bishop Keane to that see. For Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid October 7, 1896:

All the Bishops of the Province have answered in the same sense as you except the Bp. of Albany, who as a personal friend would gladly give his vote for the transfer, only that he felt Bp. Keane would prefer to withdraw and lead a Religious Life.

I trust the danger is over. It seems to me the project began in Rome and not in this country. But more of this, *viva voce*, when we meet next Tuesday.

There can be no doubt that Bishop McQuaid strongly opposed the transfer of Bishop Keane to the Diocese of Buffalo. Nothing came of the project. However, Bishop McQuaid wrote Archbishop Corrigan January 20, 1897: "It seems nothing kept Keane out of Buffalo but his own folly in publishing as he did, the Pope's letter asking for his resignation." He saw in this the finger of Divine Providence which "often intervenes to upset man's plans." In

the same letter Bishop McQuaid referred to news that "kept me awake for two nights in succession, an unusual occurrence." This was the Papal Brief of December 10, 1896, received through the Apostolic Delegate January 18, 1897, separating Steuben, Chemung, Tioga, and Schuyler counties from the Diocese of Buffalo and annexing them to the Diocese of Rochester. From this Bishop McQuaid drew the practical conclusion which he communicated to his Metropolitan: "Evidently over there in Rome they can't bear me much ill-will for the lecture I gave Ireland, or they would not enlarge the diocese of Rochester in my life." For it was done in answer to a petition from Bishop McQuaid to rectify an unjust division. Rome had indeed changed policy, as Bishop McQuaid had pointed out, writing Archbishop Corrigan November 13, 1896:

The long cablegram from Rome in yesterday's *New York Journal* reads to me like the truth. It explains much. They are determined to break up liberalism in the University as its center and thus in the U. S.

The forbearance of Rome deceived the poor fellows. But at their age they ought to have known better. They are not talking now of knocking your mitre and mine off our heads. They had things their own way for a long while.

The appointment of the new Rector to the University, the Reverend Dr. Thomas J. Conaty, Pastor of the Sacred Heart Church, Worcester, Massachusetts, was announced at Baltimore November 20, 1896. In order to forestall all attacks and calumnies against Bishop Keane, Cardinal Rampolla declared November 24, 1896, when sending Cardinal Gibbons the official notice of the appointment, that "the Most Blessed Father did not lessen his trust in and esteem of him in anything and would most willingly

have him in Rome to admit him to one of the chapters of Canons in the Patriarchal Basilicas and to associate him with the Bishops attached to the Pontifical Court." In fact, Bishop Keane went to Rome at the request of Pope Leo XIII, sailing from New York December 5, 1896. The publication of a cablegram Cardinal Rampolla sent the Apostolic Delegate Martinelli gave Bishop Keane the opportunity to state at his departure from the United States:

I very much regret that there has been a bureau of mischief at work in this country and Europe, founded for the manufacture and dissemination of pernicious rumors of all sorts against Christians and distinguished prelates in this country. I am delighted to see the crushing blow inflicted upon them by the telegram from Cardinal Rampolla to the Apostolic Delegate. I hope the telegram will convince the American public that they ought never again to pay heed to the fabrications of the mischief bureau.

Conflicting rumors, nevertheless, were rampant even in Rome after his arrival there. Bishop McQuaid therefore asked Archbishop Corrigan: "Did you notice the letter of the Roman correspondent of the *London Tablet* of Jan. 9?" He then added: "They are beginning to puzzle over Keane's coming to Rome, and what they are going to do with him, and what he is going to do." The same day on which the *Tablet* appeared, January 9, 1897, witnessed the elevation of Bishop Keane to Archiepiscopal dignity with the title of Archbishop of Damascus. He also became a consultor to the Congregation of Propaganda and Assistant to the Pontifical Throne. However, he was not thereby saved from the adverse judgment of Bishop McQuaid in the next year when the *Life of Isaac Hecker*, the founder of the Paulists, caused some suspicion to fall on this Congrega-

tion. Cardinal Gibbons had suggested this matter amongst the subjects as likely to be considered by the Archbishops in their meeting, October 11, 1896.

AMERICANISM

Archbishop Corrigan presented these subjects to his suffragan Bishops for their "attention and opinion that I may be instructed as to the sense of the Province." Although these matters were to come up at a meeting of the Province September 8, 1896, in the house of Bishop Gabriels of Ogdensburgh, where the Bishops of the Province were to congregate to attend the Consecration of his Cathedral, Bishop McQuaid informed Archbishop Corrigan August 30, 1896:

We have nothing to do about the Paulists. They are your diocesans, and if they are teaching heresies, it is your business to reprove them. If they are not, there is nothing to be done. They should not be made scapegoats to cover up Ireland, Keane, & Co.

Archbishop Ireland had, in fact, written the introduction to Abbé Klein's French translation of Father Hecker's Life. Its appearance had occasioned Mgr. Keane to write of the Americanism of Father Hecker in contrast with "the Liberalism which has antagonized and is still antagonizing religion in France." He wrote for the March issue of the Paulist Review, the *Catholic World*, in 1898, as follows:

Intelligent interest in America and "Americanism" has of late been greatly increased by the publication in French of the *Life of Father Hecker* . . . The work has run through four editions in a few months, and . . . there is now a strong demand for its translation into Italian. Hecker is a revelation to them, a revelation of what America is and what Americanism means; not by

any means a revolutionary revelation, but a most striking manifestation of what our Lord meant by "nova et vetera—new things and old."

The impression has been intensified by the essay of Monsignor D. J. O'Connell on "Americanism." It is a full and clear definition of that often misunderstood term, and an illustration of its meaning from the life and writings of Father Hecker. Republished since in various periodicals, it was first read by its Right Reverend author at the International Catholic Scientific Congress at Fribourg last August; and when he read his conclusion that the idea "involves no conflict with either Catholic faith or morals, it is no new form of heresy or liberalism or separatism; and that, fairly considered, 'Americanism' is nothing else than the loyal devotion that Catholics in America bear to the principles on which their government is founded, and their conscientious conviction that these principles afford Catholics favorable opportunities for promoting the glory of God, the growth of the Church, and the salvation of souls in America"—hearty applause that followed showed how fully the bulk of the distinguished audience agreed with him.

Monsignor O'Connell's paper was entitled *Americanism according to Father Hecker*. Controversies developed in the Summer of 1898 so as to necessitate a complete repudiation of *Religious Americanism* by Mgr. O'Connell in a series of three letters that he addressed to Father Lepidi, Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome, the Pope's official censor of books. Thus he wrote of his opponents July 14, 1898:

In the first place, they speak of something they call religious Americanism, the object of which is to introduce into the Church a certain new phase of religion and dogma, especially after the model of an article written some time ago, it is supposed, by an Englishman, under the title: *Liberal Catholicism*, and published in the *Contemporary Review* with the signature of *Romanus*.

Then they advance a certain special brand of religious subjectivism in all its branches, and they give that the name of *Heckerism*.

They try to ascribe these two things to us.

Now, for my part, Most Reverend Father, I come to tell you not only have I nothing to do with anything of this sort, but also that I regard all this as stupid and to be condemned, and I am convinced that every good Catholic in America would say the same if he were asked on the subject.

Leo XIII, finally, took the matter into his own hands, writing Cardinal Gibbons January 22, 1899, that he did so because of the great controversy occasioned by the *Life of Isaac Thomas Hecker*, especially through the action of those who have undertaken to publish or comment on it in a foreign language." According to the Holy Father, these persons declared that the Church ought to yield somewhat to the Time Spirit both as to the rule of life and the deposit of faith in order to convert dissenters more readily. As in the State, so in the Church also greater liberty in thought and action was claimed for the individual under the special guidance of the Holy Ghost, independent of external authority, so as to give room for the development of active natural virtues rather than of the evangelical virtues, which last were wrongly alleged to be *passive* in contempt of the religious life. Leo XIII, therefore, concluded:

We cannot approve the opinions which some comprise under the head of Americanism. If, indeed, by that name be designated the characteristic qualities which reflect honor on the people of America, just as other nations have what is special to them, or if it implies the condition of your commonwealth, or the laws or customs which prevail in them, there is surely no reason why we should deem it ought to be discarded.

But if it is to be used not only to signify, but even

to commend the above doctrines, there can be no doubt but that our Venerable Brethren, the Bishops of America, would be the first to repudiate and condemn it as being especially unjust to them and the entire nation as well. For it raises the suspicion that there are some among you who conceive of and desire a church in America different from that which is in the rest of the world. One in the unity of doctrine as in the unity of government, such is the Catholic Church, and since God has established its center and foundation in the Chair of Peter, one which is rightly called Roman, for where Peter is there is the Church.

Father Klein informed Leo XIII February 28, 1899, that he had stopped the sale of the French edition of the *Life of Father Hecker*, the object of ardent controversy to which the papal letter had put an end. He also declared his complete submission to the divine authority of the Church and of its visible head in the condemnation of these errors. After a declaration of the same nature by the Paulist Fathers they, on the same date, promised "neither to sell nor give away copies of the book, entitled *The Life of Father Hecker*, until the corrections judged necessary by the Holy See should have been made." For himself Mgr. Keane declared:

I accept and profess fully, without reservation, all that your Holiness teaches in this letter. I declare that I repudiate and condemn all that your Holiness condemns therein; and I declare to your Holiness and in the presence of God that never in my life have I taught or held anything of all this that you there reprove.

Archbishop Ireland, thanking the Pope for his letter to Cardinal Gibbons as an "act of esteem and love towards the Catholics of the United States and towards the whole American nation," admitted the necessity of the Pope's intervention, in view of "the astonishing confusion of ideas and the bitter con-

troversies stirred up, especially in France, about the book, *The Life of Father Hecker*." As far as he himself was concerned, he hastened to assure the Pope as early as February 22, 1899:

With all the energy of my soul, I repudiate and I condemn all the opinions that the Apostolic letter repudiates and condemns—all those false and dangerous opinions, to which, as the letter says, "certain persons attribute the name of Americanism." . . . Never for an instant have my Catholic Faith and my understanding of the teachings and practices of the Holy Church permitted me to open my soul to such extravagances. The entire episcopate of the United States, in their own name and that of their flocks, is ready to repudiate and condemn these errors.

The Hierarchy in the Province of New York had always kept itself free from so-called liberalism, and so felt no need of such precipitate repudiation of religious Americanism. The Archbishop and Bishops of the Province naturally found support of their own past religious policy in the Papal Letter, and so Archbishop Corrigan wrote Leo XIII with the explicit approval of his Suffragan Bishops in the Province March 10, 1899:

We cannot express in words the feelings of admiration, of joy, and of gratitude with which our hearts have been penetrated towards your Holiness in reading the masterly and admirable letter which you have designed to issue on what, for some time past has been designated under the name of "Americanism."

With what wisdom has your Holiness known how to unite, in one whole, the multiplicity of fallacies and errors which it has been sought to pass as good and Catholic doctrines under the specious title of "Americanism." But at the same time with what prudence discretion, and gentleness, in union with force and clearness, has your Holiness fulfilled the office of supreme and infallible teacher.

In truth, this last document of your Holiness' wisdom is, in no way inferior, to so many others which in the course of your glorious pontificate have excited universal admiration.

For us, whom the Holy Ghost has placed as bishops to rule the Church of God, under the infallible guidance of your Holiness, we hasten to offer and to make known to you our sentiments of admiration and unqualified adhesion. We receive then, and we accept, in the most absolute manner, for ourselves and our clergy, for the religious orders and congregations which labor with us for the salvation of souls, and for all our flocks, the doctrinal letter of your Holiness, *Testem Benevolentiae*. We accept and we make it wholly ours, word for word, sentence by sentence, in that very same sense in which your Holiness, according to the tradition and wisdom of all Christian antiquity, understood and understands it, and desires that it should be understood by all.

In its regard we shall never make, nor shall we ever permit that others depending on us, either directly or indirectly, should make any reservation or tergiversation. Your Holiness has spoken. The question is therefore ended. This thought has given us great satisfaction, and it is this which we wished to say when, in our first words, we manifested the joy of our hearts.

We can also say that the monster which, in order to obtain a lasting abode, to acquire the rights of citizenship among us, assumed to itself the fair name of "Americanism," has, almost on its first appearance, been struck down dead. But it is to you that the glory of this happy result is due.

If your Holiness had not opportunely come to our aid with your admirable letter, how numerous might have been those who, through ignorance rather than malice, would have been taken in the snare. The Bishops and clergy would have had a heavy task to keep the people out of error. Error would have been able, little by little, always to take a greater hold, and we would soon be marked out as not being Americans.

Meanwhile this false Americanism, understood like similar titles which, to the great injury of souls, lasted for ages among other nations, would have taken tranquil

possession in our midst, ever increasing its conquests in enormous proportions of time and place.

And now with head erect we can repeat that we also are Americans as much as any one else. Yes we are and we glory in it, because our Nation is great in its institutions and in its undertakings, great in its developments, and in its activity; but in the matter of religion, doctrine, discipline, morals, and Christian perfection we glory in thoroughly following the Holy See.

For these reasons we are and ever shall be most grateful to your Holiness who, by your imperishable letter, *Testem Benevolentiae*, has conferred on us and all the Catholics of America a signal benefit. Yes, by the *Testem Benevolentiae* your Holiness roots, on its very appearance, this cockle from the field of wheat.

May Almighty God preserve the health of your Holiness for many years to come, so that you may see with your own eyes, the perfect fruit of your Apostolic vigilance.

There had been an attempt by the so-called liberals to brand their opponents as un-American. This vile insinuation was now no longer possible in the clearing of the atmosphere after the publication of this Papal Letter. The collective letter of the Prelates in the New York Province went by steamer the morning of March 11, 1899. The same day Archbishop Corrigan informed Bishop McQuaid:

I have learned from Rome, in strict confidence, and I repeat it to you for your own private information that the Holy Father desired the Archbishop of St. Paul to leave Rome; but if yesterday's papers are correct, he is still in the Holy City. I have also learned that Dr. Zahm has been summoned to Rome, where he will be required to retract and repudiate the doctrines in his books; otherwise they will be condemned by the Holy Office.

The new Bishop of Buffalo, the Most Reverend James E. Quigley on his way home from Rome,

stopped to see Archbishop Corrigan with whom he dined December 16, 1899. The same day the Archbishop wrote Bishop McQuaid:

He says the Pope was particularly earnest in expressing his satisfaction and gratitude for the New York Province's action *in re Americanism*. He dwelt on the subject, says the Bishop, for full fifteen minutes.

The settlement of the question of Americanism by Leo XIII practically ended contention between such conservative progressives as Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid and such liberals as Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Keane. They all rallied to the support of Leo XIII's Letter. Bishop Keane was rewarded the following Summer, being promoted July 24, 1900, to the Archbishopric of Dubuque.

The remaining years of Archbishop Corrigan's life were not troubled although the Regency question at Albany again became an issue. As the Archbishop was laid up with a heavy cold, he had F. Moylan write Bishop McQuaid for him as follows, March 22, 1900:

It is known in the proper quarters that I am in favor of Bishop Burke. On Sunday evening Mr. Madden called and I told him that, while Bishop Burke was in the field, it would be time enough for me to consider another candidate.—Again Mr. O'Grady called upon me, representing Mr. Platt, and to him also I said plainly I was in favor of the Bishop. In case the Bishop could not be elected, then I preferred rather Hendrick to Dr. Burt-sell, if a clergyman was to be chosen.

Father Thomas Hendrick offered to withdraw in favor of Bishop Burke, but he said that he did not need that. The result was that Father Thomas Hendrick was elected the Catholic Regent on the Board

of the University of the State of New York, in which he functioned as such until his appointment as Bishop of Cebu in the Philippine Islands, being consecrated in Rome August 23, 1903. Meanwhile Archbishop Corrigan had died May 5, 1902, in peace with God and the world.

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